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Some Account of the Life and Transactions of WARREN HASTINGS, Esq; late Governor-General of Bengal.

WARREN HASTINGS is descended from a family of some distinction in the county of Worcester, where his ancestors enjoyed a considerable estate for many generations. He was born in the year 1750; and the education which he received at Westminster school under the tuition of Dr Nichols, was accompanied with early and eminent marks of an original and vigorous understanding. His acquirements in literature were deemed an honour as well to the preceptor as the pupil; and when he left that seminary, he was esteemed one of the most accomplished scholars among his contemporaries.

He was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company, on the Bengal establishment, in the year 1750. The moment he arrived in India, he attached himself to what he conceived the most likely means of success. By a capacity and application in which he has few equals, he soon became so much master of the Persian and Indostan languages, as to make himself intelligible to the natives. He is said to be the first Englishman who accomplished this very difficult undertaking with any degree of accuracy; and nothing could be more happily calculated to facilitate all his subsequent designs. It amply repaid his assiduity, by procuring the communica-

tion and confidence of the natives, and enabling him to ſerve both them and himſelf on many very ſerious and important occaſions.

Theſe qualities and acquirements pointed him out to ſuch as then were of the council, in the preſidency of Calcutta, as a proper aſſiſtant of Mr Watts at Moorſhedabad, who was our principal agent there. During his continuance in that ſituation, he performed alſo the duty of chaplain. On the 20th of June 1756, at the time that Mr Drake was governor, Surajah Dowlah took Calcutta, and gave a moſt ſhocking and melancholy proof of the cruelty of his diſpoſition, by confining Mr Holwell and the other Britiſh inhabitants in the black hole; where, out of 146 perſons that were put in, only 23 eſcaped ſuffocation. In order, therefore, to avoid becoming a prey to this mercileſs tyrant, Mr Haſtings found it neceſſary to quit Moorſhedabad, and put himſelf, with ſome other Engliſh gentlemen, under the protection of the Dutch flag at Chinſurah. The many civilities he and his countrymen received there, and the perfect ſecurity they enjoyed againſt any treacherous attempts of Surajah Dowlah to injure them, made the moſt laſting impreſſions on his mind, and were ever afterwards remembered with kindneſs. For ſome months after the capture of Calcutta, Bengal was one continued ſcene of diſtraction and trouble, ariſing from a deſire in Surajah Dowlah to extirpate the Engliſh entirely out of the country. During the greater part of theſe tumults and diſorders, Mr Haſtings continued his reſidence with the Dutch; and, from the intimate acquaintance he then formed with them, he has frequently ſince done them conſiderable ſervice and benefit. Col. Clive and Adm. Watſon, in Oct. 1756, were ordered round, with a ſquadron from Madraſs, to retake Calcutta. This important and difficult ſervice they quickly effected. In conſequence, a peace was made, on the 12th of February 1757, with Surajah Dowlah; in which many advantages were ſtipulated for and granted to the Company, that they did not enjoy before. Tranquillity and peace were re-eſtabliſhed in our government, and all differences and diſputes for a ſhort time ſubſided. However, the news of our being at war with the French having arrived at this period, Surajah Dowlah, who openly made a ſhow of friendſhip, ſoon convinced us by his conduct, that he was ſecretly our moſt inveterate and determined enemy; he not only aſſiſted the French with men and money, but ſeemed much hurt at our taking Chandernagore from them. From this treachery of the Nabob, Col. Clive plainly perceived that we were reduced to the alternative of either ſecuring our poſſeſſions by force, or tamely ſuffering ourſelves to be driven out of the country. This ſuggeſted to him, for the firſt time, the neceſſity there was for a revolution. With the conſent of the council, a negotiation was entered into with Meer Jaffier, who was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers in the Nabob's ſervice: the intention of it was to raiſe him to the Subahſhip, on certain conditions favourable to the Company. The management and conduct of this tranſaction was confided to Mr Watts, who was then reſident at the Nabob's court. This great event was finally accompliſhed by the complete victory that a handful of Engliſhmen obtained over the army of the Nabob, in the glorious battle of Plaſſey, which was fought on the 26th of June 1757. Some days after, Surajah Dowlah attempting to make his eſcape from Moorſhedabad to Patna, accompanied only by his favourite concubine and head eunuch, was taken at Raja Mahal, and brought back to his palace. The night following he was put to death by orders of Meerum, the ſon of Meer Jaffier, the reigning Nabob.

From this moment the complexion of the Company's affairs was materially changed; for we no longer view them as mere merchants, or ſee the attention of their ſervants ſolely engroſſed by trade; we find them acting in the capacity of ſovereigns, legiſlators, and ſoldiers. Nor did the glory of the Britiſh name ſuffer a diminution from either their want of valour in the field, or wiſdom in the cabinet. Theſe were ſcenes that ſuited well the bold and vigorous turn of Mr Haſtings's diſpoſition. The addreſs, indefatigable induſtry, and perfect knowledge of the Company's intereſts he had ſhewn whilſt aſſiſtant at Moorſhedabad, recommended him to the council, as the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed Mr Scrafton as reſident at the Nabob's court. He accordingly was appointed to that ſtation towards the end of the year 1758. Here he exerciſed his talents with much advantage to the Company, and no inconſiderable reputation to himſelf. Mr Vanſittart

ſittart ſucceeded Col. Clive in the chair in 1760; and, from a ſimilarity of ſentiments, and an opinion of each others integrity and worth, the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip were formed between him and Mr Haſtings. In the October following, it was found neceſſary, from the frequent murders that had been committed by the Nabob, and the many extortions and oppreſſions practiſed by his miniſters, to depoſe him. A general diſaffection againſt his government, and a deteſtation of his perſon and principles, prevailed in the country amongſt all ranks and degrees of people. The revolution was accompliſhed with the greateſt facility; and Coſſim Allee Cawn, who was married to the Nabob's daughter, was ſeated on the Muſnud, on the 22d of the ſame month. Mr Haſtings and Mr Luſhington diſtinguiſhed themſelves a good deal, by their exertions on the occaſion.

The new Nabob had ſcarcely entered upon his government, when a powerful party was formed againſt him in the council. His ſlighteſt endeavours to protect his ſubjects againſt rapacity and violence, were conſtrued into the moſt atrocious crimes: mutual recrimination increaſed daily the ill-humour on both ſides, and it would ſeem that a rupture was wiſhed for by the Engliſh. In this unfortunate ſituation were affairs, when about September 1761, Meſſ. Summer, Playdell, and Smith, ſailed for England, and were ſucceeded at the council-board, by Meſſ. Haſtings, Johnſtone, and Hay. This material change had no other effect upon the conduct of the council, than to add freſh fuel to the flame, that before was ready to burſt forth. The preſident and Mr Haſtings conſtantly endeavoured to palliate matters on both ſides; and to heal thoſe diſſenſions which were equally dangerous to the intereſts of the Company and of the Nabob. With a view of adjuſting theſe diſputes, Mr Vanſittart got himſelf deputed to wait on him; and knowing that Mr Haſtings ſtood high in his eſteem, expreſſed his wiſhes alſo, that he ſhould accompany him as his aſſiſtant in this important commiſſion. This the board aſſented to; and both gentlemen ſet out, on the 20th of October 1762, for Mongheer, where the Nabob then was. After ſome previous diſcuſſion of the complaints and grievances on either ſide, a treaty was made, which ſeemed to aſcertain the rights and claims of the Company, as well as thoſe of the Nabob; and was calculated to remove every poſſible pretence or cauſe of future animoſity or jealouſies between them. This agreement the other members of council, Meſſ. Amyat, Watts, Marriot, Hay, Johnſtone, Cartier, Ellis, Billers, Batſon, Maj. Carnac, and Maj. Adams, reprobated in the ſevereſt language, as a ſhameful ſurrender of the former privileges of the Company, and derogatory of the dignity and honour of the Britiſh nation. In vain did Mr Vanſittart and Mr Haſtings attempt to prove the neceſſity and propriety of the meaſure: party-ſpirit had arrived at too great a height to be longer curbed; and from this moment the fate of the Nabob was irrevocably doomed. His own haſtineſs, and the inſolence of his officers, contributed a good deal to his ruin. The beginning of July 1763, hoſtilities on both ſides commenced at Patna. In conſequence of which, Mr Amyat, who was on an embaſſy at the Nabob's court at Moorſhedabad, and was then returning to Calcutta with a paſſport from him for his protection, was attacked on his way by ſome of his forces, and murdered, together with ſome other gentlemen. This was not the only unjuſtifiable act that ſtained the Nabob's reputation; for in four months after, when his affairs grew deſperate, Mr Ellis, Mr Hay, Mr Luſhington, and fifty other gentlemen, civil and military, together with about 100 private men, who had fallen into his hands by the chance of war, were butchered with the moſt ſavage barbarity at Patna, by his expreſs command. This treacherous and cruel behaviour fired with indignation the boſoms, as well of his former friends as enemies, and made them exult at his misfortunes. In fact, it gave a kind of colouring to the conduct of thoſe gentlemen in council who had oppoſed him from the firſt outſet of his adminiſtration; and ſeemed to call in queſtion the juſtice of Mr Vanſittart and Mr Haſtings's uniform ſupport of his government. However, theſe gentlemen, conſcious that their actions were guided by a wiſh to ſerve the Company, refuſed to give their opinion on the propriety of depoſing him, and reſtoring again the old Nabob, Meer Juffier. But as ſoon as the board had formed their reſolution on the buſineſs, they ſhewed themſelves as active and as zealous for the ſucceſs of our arms over Coſſim Allee Cawn, as the moſt fixed and rancorou

rancorous of his enemies. By his expulſion beyond the Caramnaſſa, Meer Jaffier found himſelf, in October 1763, once more ſecured in his government. From this period till his return to Europe, the latter end of the year 1765, nothing material with reſpect to Mr Haſtings has occurred. The amount of his fortune, on his arrival in England, was no more than 6000l.* — an indubitable proof of the purity of his principles, and his contempt of riches: for if we conſider the ſtations he filled, and the extraordinary and uncommon opportunities that in thoſe times preſented themſelves to men high in authority, of amaſſing wealth, we cannot too much admire his integrity, or commend his virtue, in withſtanding ſuch powerful temptations. On this ſmall fortune he lived at home for near five years, when, finding his money almoſt exhauſted, and that he was in ſome degree diſtreſſed and embarraſſed in his affairs, his friends propoſed, and endeavoured to obtain for him, a profeſſorſhip eſtabliſhed at Oxford, for Oriental learning. His perfect acquaintance with the Eaſtern languages, joined to the uncommon predilection he had for ſtudies of that nature, rendered him the fitteſt man in the kingdom for ſuch an undertaking. It was deſigned that he ſhould be appointed profeſſor, with a ſalary of 300l. or 400l. a-year. He was alſo to have had allowed him a native of India, for an aſſiſtant to teach the Perſian and Arabic languages. He intended himſelf to give lectures to his pupils. This plan was much approved of, and, from a conviction of its utility, was about to be put in execution, when a propoſal was made him by the court of directors, of going out to Madras in council. Without much heſitation he accepted of the offer; and in the year 1771 arrived at Madras, when he took his ſeat at the council-board. Finding this preſidency in the utmoſt confuſion and diſtreſs, occaſioned by a dreadful famine, which the inhabitants of almoſt all our territories in India, but particularly of Bengal, had experienced ſome time before; he exerted the greateſt induſtry and care in aſſiſting, with the reſt of his colleagues, to relieve the ſettlement from the effects of this fatal calamity; and ſo well convinced were the directors of his merit, and his ſteady attachment to their intereſt, that they were by no means wanting in their acknowledgements of his ſervices.

The government of Bengal was at this time in charge of Mr Cartier, who, although a very worthy and reſpectable private character, poſſeſſed neither the vigour nor reſolution which that important ſtation required. Abuſes of every kind were either countenanced or winked at: nor were the members of his council better diſpoſed than himſelf, to retrieve the affairs of the Company; for they ſubmitted to the continuance of evils, which they wanted either power or inclination to reform. The Company's annual expences conſiderably exceeded their revenues. There was due to individuals in Bengal a bond debt of about a million and a half Sterling. All matters wore a gloomy aſpect: and, in fact, a diſſolution of the Company's power in India, from a variety of cauſes, ſeemed to be approaching faſt. The directors were greatly alarmed: however, they were determined to ward off the blow, if poſſible. In a ſpeedy reformation of the abuſes that had crept into their government, their ſalvation ſolely reſted: this they were aware of; and, from a perſuaſion that Mr Haſtings poſſeſſed every requiſite for that arduous taſk, they appointed him to ſucceed to the government of Bengal. The perſeverance, firmneſs, and integrity, which had uniformly marked his actions, contributed not a little to raiſe him to this diſtinguiſhed ſituation. His conduct gained confidence; and experience of his abilities procured reſpect and veneration. Few men, who did not poſſeſs his undaunted ſpirit, or who were not animated with a ſincere love for their country, would have riſked their reputation in ſo dangerous an undertaking. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter: and though, from the many reductions he would of courſe be compelled to make in the ſhameful waſte of the Company's expenditure, and the neceſſity he would be under of aboliſhing many uſeleſs and idle appointments, he might lay his account in much obloquy and cenſure: yet his regard for the Company, and the duty he owed them, made him overlook all perſonal conſiderations. In the month of April 1772, he came round from Madras to Calcutta, and took upon himſelf the government

* Other accounts ſay, 15,000l.—but all agree it was a very inconſiderable ſum, compared with the immenſe fortunes brought home by perſons in ſtations far inferior to thoſe he had filled.

government of Bengal, according to his inſtructions from home.

On his firſt acceſſion to the chair, he inſtantly ſet about his plan of reformation, which was as arduous and unpleaſant a taſk as could be impoſed upon a man of ſenſibility. However, though his humanity was great, he never ſuffered it to ſink into weakneſs, or his feelings into folly. He ſaw the magnitude of the object before him, and for that reaſon did not permit his judgement to be warped by either private friendſhips or former attachments. He very ſoon new-modelled all the public offices, and allotted to each its diſtinct buſineſs. The regulations he adopted were carried into execution with a promptitude and facility of which there had been no example in India. Duſtucks, which had been ſo often uſed as the inſtruments of oppreſſion and violence, were aboliſhed, and many beneficial regulations made in the collection of the revenues. Theſe ſalutary meaſures, tho' the beſt that human wiſdom could deviſe for the relief of the Company's affairs, had not the inſtantaneous effect that was wiſhed for. The evil which had reduced them to the verge of ruin, was too deeply rooted to be eradicated with facility. At this criſis Mr Haſtings ſtood upon a great and conſpicuous eminence, where the eyes of all men were turned towards him. It behoved him therefore to uſe uncommon exertions to render the remedies he intended for the benefit of the Company, ſubſtantial in themſelves, and effective in their operation. As the likeliеſt mode of accompliſhing it, he made many and great retrenchments in the civil departments, and diſcountenanced all manner of diſſipation and extravagance in thoſe under him. The advantages which reſulted to the Company from this conduct were temporary—not laſting; for while Bengal continued to be drained of its circulating ſpecie, all plans of reform, however wiſe and ſalutary, proved defective. This was the primary and principal ſource of every embarraſſment which his government underwent. The evil originated from a treaty made by Lord Clive, in the year 1765, with the Mogul. In this it was ſtipulated on our part, that we ſhould pay him annually twenty-ſix lacks of rupees, and guarantee to him the poſſeſſion of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which latter place was pointed out for his reſidence. The impolicy of this meaſure was ſoon experienced by us; but, inſtead of endeavouring to rectify the error, our ſubſequent behaviour only increaſed the miſchievous conſequences of it. We continued to make large remittances in ſilver, to China and other places, and this too at a time when a ſtop was put to the importation of bullion from Europe. Notwithſtanding that here was one grand cauſe which could not fail to undermine our government, if not removed; yet Mr Haſtings, in a very ſhort time, breathed life and ſpirit into every department: and, by a ſeries of meaſures, which were effected in about two years, through his foreſight and good policy, not only averted the misfortunes that menaced the deſtruction of the Company's dominions in India, but ſecured to them a vaſt extent of power and authority, with a great ſupply of treaſure for the exigencies of the ſtate.

The firſt important tranſaction which attracts our notice, was the Mogul, at the inſtigation of the Mahrattas, withdrawing himſelf from our protection, at Allahabad, in June 1771, and throwing himſelf into the hands of that people. Mr Haſtings was too well acquainted with the habits and diſpoſitions of the Mahrattas, and his conceptions of their conduct, being the reſult of ſtudious obſervation for many years, were too juſt, not to perceive the conſequence of this fatal ſtep. He foretold, and ſubſequent intelligence ſoon verified his prophecy, that a grant of the provinces of Corah and Allahabad would be extorted by them from the Mogul. In this caſe, the danger of having the Mahrattas bordering upon our territories would be moſt imminent, and our poſſeſſion of the provinces held by a very precarious tenure indeed. With theſe ſentiments, Mr Haſtings heſitated not a moment to form an alliance with Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude. His ſituation being equally critical with our own, he was as nearly concerned in the diminution of the power of the Mahrattas. In conſequence of this meaſure, the man, who was conſidered two or three years before, by the gentlemen then in authority, as diſaffected to our government, was now rendered a moſt uſeful and powerful ally. In 1773 the Mahrattas invaded his dominions, but were repulſed by a body of our forces that had formed a junction with his troops. Viewing this attack, and the flight of the Mogul, as a forfeiture

feiture of his treaty with Lord Clive, we ſeized on Corah and Allahabad; and the September following, by an agreement concluded at Benares, between Mr Haſtings and Sujah Dowlah, we ceded them to the Nabob for fifty lacks of rupees. The importance of this negotiation to the Company muſt appear evident to any man of diſcernment. Beſides, its value was enhanced from a clauſe contained in it, that the Nabob ſhould in future pay 2 lacks 10,000 rupees a-month, inſtead of 30,000 rupees a-month, as formerly, for one of our brigades acting in his ſervice. But previous to this buſineſs, an engagement was entered into with the Rohillas, to defend them againſt the ravages of the Mahrattas, if they ſhould attempt, as was expected, to invade the Nabob's dominions through Rohilcund, which adjoins the north-eaſt frontier of Oude. They, in return, promiſed for this protection to pay, at the end of the campaign, forty lacks of rupees. In the hour of their diſtreſs the ſuccour required at our hands was faithfully afforded them. But this ſcrupulous obſervance of the treaty on our part, inſtead of operating to our advantage, only held out to them an opportunity of diſplaying the moſt unparallelled treachery. They firſt refuſed the payment of the forty lacks of rupees, and then, diſdaining even the ſemblance of honeſty, in open violation of every thing that is held ſacred and binding between powers, negotiated with the Mahrattas againſt their beſt friend and ally. Lenity towards them, after this baſe tranſaction, would have been as impolitic as weak. Mr Haſtings therefore conſented to aſſiſt the Nabob in the conqueſt of their country, and for this ſervice the company was to receive fifty lacks of rupees. The Rohilla war commenced in 1774, and in about ſeven months afterwards, the whole country was reduced within our power. Mr Haſtings granted the Rohillas peace on honourable terms; when the ſucceſs of our arms, and their former perfidy, would have juſtified the exaction of the hardeſt. The October after the judges arrived; when the mayor's court was aboliſhed, and the ſupreme court of judicature eſtabliſhed in its ſtead. At this period came alſo from Europe Gen. Clavering, Col. Monſon, and Mr Francis. They, together with Mr Haſtings and Mr Barwell, compoſed the new government. Mr Haſtings, finding that his powers were curtailed by the inſtructions of the court of directors, had, at firſt, ſome intentions to reſign; but the violence with which a majority in council acted againſt him, made him reſolve to remain in the chair at all events. From the integrity and unimpeached characters of the different gentlemen to whom the government was intruſted, it was the general opinion that the buſineſs of the ſtate would now have gone on ſmoothly, and the moſt perfect harmony have reigned among the members of the board. This idea had ſcarcely been formed, before its falſity was evinced by a variety of circumſtances. The flame of oppoſition broke out at once with the greateſt violence, and the majority of the council took all occaſions to depreciate the value of every act of Mr Haſtings's former government. The provinces were deſcribed to the court of directors to be in the moſt diſtreſſed ſituation, and the natives groaning under the greateſt tyranny and oppreſſion. The Rohilla war was cenſured as a meaſure that was as diſgraceful to the Britiſh name, as it was unprofitable to the Company. It was deemed a violation of our moſt ſolemn engagements; and the money which the Nabob was to give us for our aſſiſtance was emphatically called *the price of blood*. Nor was it in India alone that it was viewed in this light; it was as ſeverely condemned in England; and in the Britiſh parliament it has been enumerated by a Rt Hon. Gentleman among a long catalogue of other crimes imputed to Mr Haſtings during his government. It would not become us to undertake his vindication; it is our province to ſtate facts as they really happened, and to leave the unprejudiced reader to draw his own concluſions. We ſhall therefore diſmiſs the article with the ſingle obſervation, that the court of directors, whoſe intereſt was more immediately concerned than that of any other perſon, expreſſed their warmeſt approbation and thanks of Mr Haſtings's conduct in the inſtance alluded to.

The recency and delicacy of the ſubject will not permit us to enter into a minute detail of the various diſputes which, unfortunately for their country, happened between Mr Haſtings, Gen. Clavering, Col. Monſon, and Mr Francis, from the time of their firſt landing till the year 1777, when the Governor obtained a majority in council, in conſequence

ſequence of the death of two of the above gentlemen. We ſhall only ſelect, from an infinite variety of matter, which crowds upon us during that period, a few of the moſt important and leading circumſtances.

Party ſpirit had, at this time, arrived at the greateſt height. Intrigue and cabal ſeemed to be the principal occupation on both ſides. Every act of Mr Haſtings's public conduct was canvaſſed with an illiberality unworthy the dignity and honour of the gentlemen concerned. He was accuſed of the moſt flagrant acts of rapacity and extortion; and a native of the name of Nundcomar ſtood forth his accuſer. By his evidence was every article of the different charges of peculation which had been trumped up againſt him to be ſubſtantiated, and his delinquency detected and expoſed in the face of the world. Abſurd and idle as the accuſation was, conſidering the vile principles of the man who was the author of it, yet it was cherithed by many from wicked and ſelfiſh views; and by others from a depravity in human nature, which takes delight in depreciating that worth that it feels itſelf deſtitute of. After the moſt ſerious inveſtigation of the whole affair, it turned out to be the mere fabrication of a man long noted for his infamous practices and foul deſigns. However incenſed Mr Haſtings might have been at this groundleſs attack upon his honour, and the encouragement it had met with, we do not think that he was juſtified, from any authority that he enjoyed as governor, in breaking up the council when the majority ſummoned Nundcomar before them, for the purpoſe of examining into the truth of ſo extraordinary an affair. The court of directors was of the ſame opinion, and reprimanded him very ſeverely for this ſtretch of power.

We cannot paſs over in ſilence the important treaty which Mr Haſtings made with Aſoph Ul Dowlah, who had ſucceeded to the Muſnud, on the death of his father, in February 1775. By means of it the ſovereignty of Benares, with all the rights and powers annexed to it, was transferred to the Company, beſides an acquiſition of a revenue of twenty-four lacks of rupees.

The laſt political regulation of conſequence accompliſhed by Mr Haſtings, previous to Gen. Clavering's death was the increaſe of our military eſtabliſhment, by an addition of three regiments of horſe, three companies of artillery, and nine battalions of ſepoys. This great body of forces was gained to the Company without any manner of expence whatever; for as they were deſigned for the protection of the Nabob's dominions, he was obliged to appropriate certain fixed funds for the payment of them. Both Gen. Clavering and Mr Francis diſapproved highly of the plan: but I believe at this day, the many advantages which have ariſen from it are too well known for us to enter into a diſquiſition of its merits.

The next event of any note, is the commencement of hoſtilities with the Mahrattas. The origin and continuance of that ruinous and expenſive war have been imputed, by his enemies, to Mr Haſtings, and as obſtinately denied by his adherents. We cannot, however, wind ourſelves into all the labyrinths of ſo confuſed a buſineſs, which is now the ſubject of moſt ſerious inveſtigation and inquiry.

It is impoſſible, in this ſhort memoir, to ſpecify the numerous meaſures which, in a government of twelve years, have been ſeverally arraigned by many, both in India and England. Mr Francis, notwithſtanding the death of his two colleagues, continued his oppoſition until the precarious ſtate of his health called him home. Before his departure, however, in conſequence of ſome unguarded recriminations, which were mutual, a duel was fought between him and the Governor-General. This terminated a diſagreement of opinion in meaſures of government which had ſubſiſted for ſix years, with conſiderable animoſity on both ſides.

Poſterior to this period, moſt of thoſe delinquencies imputed to Mr Haſtings's conduct occurred. The exigencies of the Company, from the wars, which raged in almoſt every part of their territories, the preſſure of their debts, and the failure of their revenues, were, perhaps, only to be ſupplied in the manner which then appeared moſt eligible to the Governor-General. There are politicians who think ſuch an immenſe object as this ſufficient to have juſtified any means by which it could have been accompliſhed; and his enemies muſt allow, that it is to his ſkill and addreſs we are indebted for that general pacification they had ſo often declared to be impracticable. *Pol. Mag. Extracts*

Extracts from two original letters of Gen. Washington and Mrs Macaulay.

I. *From* Gen. Washington.

Our course of Husbandry in most of the American States is not only exceedingly unprofitable, but so destructive to our lands, that it is my earnest wish to engage a thorough-bred English farmer, from a part of England where husbandry is best understood, and most advantageously practised, to take the care and charge of a plantation, say of ten labourers; or, to be more explicit, of a farm of about 250 acres of arable land, to be stocked with a competent number of ploughs, black-cattle, sheep, and hogs. I mean, by a knowing farmer, one who understands the best course of crops, how to plough, to sow, to mow, trench, drain, hedge and ditch, and who (Midas-like) can convert every thing he touches into manure, as the first transmutation towards gold. I don't mean to put you to the trouble of actually engaging one at present; but shall be obliged to you for making enquiry, and communicating the result to me, as it is now too late for the ensuing year. These enquiries, you will readily perceive, are pointed to a farmer of the middle class, which would probably best answer my purpose; but, if you could conveniently extend your enquiries further, permit me to ask if one of a higher rank could be had; and upon what terms? I mean for a steward. It may not be amiss to observe, that I have discontinued the growth of tobacco, and that it is my intention to raise as little Indian corn as may be, as I am desirous of entering on as complete a course of husbandry as is practised in the best farming counties in England. I, however, enquire for a man of the latter description with little hopes of success; first, because I believe one who is completely fit for my purpose would be above my price, as I do not abound in money; and, secondly, because I entertain an idea, that an English steward is not so much a farmer as he is an attorney or an accomptant: in this, however, I may be mistaken. In a word, if you could meet with a man of one or both these descriptions, in whom you could absolutely confide, and could ascertain his or their terms, leaving me at liberty to accede to them or not within a reasonable time for the interchange of letters, I shall be happy to hear from you as soon as convenient. A man in the character of steward, if single, and his appearance equal to it, would live in the house with me, and be at my table. The common farmer would be on the farm, which would be intrusted to his care.

II. *From* Mrs Macaulay.

You know, in all human societies, there are many things to blame, if there are many to praise; but all which I shall say upon the whole is, that I found the state of things as well, or perhaps better, than a philosopher would have expected.

My journey to Virginia, though very fatiguing, and even injurious to my health, I can scarcely repent, for I found that Fame had not exaggerated the private or the public qualities of that modern Colossus of human virtue, General Washington. I have brought away a parcel of ..... seeds for your service, which he has collected for a new plantation which he is making.

I left New-York the middle of July last, arrived at L'Orient in the French packet the middle of August, and have been settled a fortnight at Aix en Provence. I intend to spend the winter here, and early in the spring to proceed to England, taking the round-about route of Nice, Geneva, with some part of Flanders and Holland.

You will be surprised at the extent of the tour, when I tell you that travelling is as painful and unpleasant to me as it is pleasurable to others: but it convinces me that there is very little useful knowledge to be gained from the descriptions presented to us in all the various books of travels; and it furnishes me with several necessary ideas for a work which I have much at heart."

Remarkable circumstance of a SHEEP *living Twenty-two days under Snow.*

THE following very remarkable circumstance happened in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford during the late snow. A sheep, on the 27th of February, took shelter in a ditch, belonging to Mr Fisher, of Woodham Walter Lodge. The snow having drifted over it, it remained in that situation till the 21st of March, during which time it was impossible for it to lie down. When found, the snow had melted a little way in the ditch, so that it stood up to the belly in water. It is now alive, and likely to do well.

Letters

Letters occasioned by the Consecration of Bishop Seabury concluded. p. 78.

Reply by L. L.

SIR,

IT is impossible for me to resume the pen, without expressing the sense I entertain of the honour conferred on what he terms "the revilings of anonymous scribblers," by a gentleman, whose signature induces me to conclude, that he is either possessor of, or presumptive heir to a Caledonian Mitre, in his long answer to my "remarks on the dignities conferred by Scotch Nonjurors;" and that at a time, when, from the new mart opened there for American bishoprics, we may presume, that the Episcopal chapels at Edinburgh are more thronged with votaries than the forge of Vulcan was in ancient days, after he had successively wrought for Achilles and Æneas that celestial armour, which was impenetrable to the weapons of their enemies. The term "Anonymous Scribbler" will to some appear unfortunately chosen by the nameless coadjutor of a bishop lurking under the veil of secrecy. To have signed my insignificant name to an attestation of those principles which I have from my earliest youth avowed, would be no surprising effort of courage; but I own, I have no such passion for encountering windmills, as to rush with my face bared amidst a groupe of masqued foes.

The tenderness with which I have hitherto mentioned the act of 1748, scarcely permitting myself even to hint at its political motives, having drawn down on me the term "Reviler," it is high time to call your attention both to its author and its object; the statesman who then presided at the British helm was Mr Pelham, whose mildness of disposition, accompanied by an uniform regard for the civil and religious liberties of mankind, have justly endeared his memory to every loyal subject: his evident design was not merely to prohibit their mode of worship, but to impose due restraints on a body of ecclesiastics, who were considered as the trumpeters of rebellion: should any English reader, unacquainted with that pestilent race, wish to see them delineated in their proper colours, I would recommend him to Cibber's excellent comedy, "The Nonjuror." If the act have had no other effect than that ascribed to it by your correspondent, of "driving "many persons of consequence" from such an Episcopal church, it has surely not been without its benefits to that religion which instructs us to reverence the powers that be.

In the next paragraph we hear of the "Divine right of Episcopacy." On the contrary, I have always been taught, that no universal mode, either of civil or ecclesiastical government, was established by Jesus Christ or his Apostles; the *former* commanded us to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's; but expressly avoided entering into details of that nature: the quotations from the latter, whether by the champions of Hierarchy, among whom I have principally an eye to Hooker, on account of his having obtained the epithet "judicious," from knowing exactly how far it was adviseable to go in controverted points, and where to stop; or by his contemporaries the Puritans, who lived under Queen Elisabeth; have always appeared to me quite unsatisfactory: they prove only, that St Peter and St Paul varied their directions in regard to church polity, according to the various circumstances and situations of the converts to whom they addressed their epistles. Thus to interpret scripture is by no means to explain it away; on the contrary, I look upon its precepts of obedience to the King as supreme, to be as binding on those who live under an aristocracy, or democracy, as to the subjects of the most despotic monarch; nor could the obedience there required to ecclesiastical superiors give better claims of homage to the council of Trent, where so many hundred bishops met, from those over whom its jurisdiction extended, than it does now to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who are undoubtedly my antagonist's ecclesiastical superiors, though he thinks fit to sneer at them on account of a harsh resolution passed 130 years ago, soon after the heats of the great civil war, and by no means included in the tenets of the present generation, whose characters and conduct yield not in any instance whatever to the clergy of those churches, which hold forth tempting prospects of more elevated stations, accompanied with larger emoluments.

But I am soon after informed, that "the Scotch Convention, which voted Episcopacy a grievance, might have voted Christianity a grievance, and established the religion of Mahomet." Arguments founded on such premisses immediately

deſtroy themſelves. Matters of mere local and arbitrary inſtitution, or at moſt of expediency alone, as Epiſcopacy or Preſbytery, are liable to be changed by thoſe who are inveſted with competent authority; but the eſſential doctrines of faith, which the Chriſtian religion inculcates, together with the moral duties it enjoins, reſt, and muſt for ever reſt, on an immoveable baſis.

There is one grand point, it ſeems, in which the preacher and his friend cannot accord; the one falls foul on Engliſh Biſhops in the lump; the other is laviſh, if not fulſome, in his encomiums on "that accompliſhed Prelate, under whoſe primacy the Engliſh church is now ſo happy." To decide between them is more than I undertook, or am competent to. All I object to is, the validity of the Conſecration; as for the Sermon, I ſhould not have a wiſh to contradict any man who told me it united the wiſdom of Solon and eloquence of Demoſthenes. Engliſh Biſhops may, for me, plead their own cauſe, or, if they are too lazy and luxurious, have chaplains at their beck: I, who am neither their ſecretary nor apparitor, do not feel myſelf endued with ſufficient heroiſm to turn volunteer in ſuch controverſy. All I have to recommend is, that, as enough has been ſaid on "the extent," a ſermon ſhould immediately be preached in every chapel from Lambeth to St Andrew's, "on the *bounds* of Epiſcopal authority." America being the object in view, the following text from Jeremiah might not be ill adapted; "if thou haſt run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canſt thou contend with horſes? and if in the land of peace, wherein thou truſtedſt, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the ſwelling of Jordan?"

During the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole, the younger Sherlock, afterwards Biſhop of London, than whom no man was better verſed in all the wiles and ſtratagems of his profeſſion, ſtrongly urged the eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in our colonies; his zeal was ſeconded by that of the *convert* Secker, who had long fleered with ſuch adroitneſs a kind of middle courſe between the ſect he had left, and that to which he joined himſelf, as to retain the title "*decent*," given him by Pope: but his poſthumous works clearly ſhew, that at a time of life, when other mens eyes, like thoſe of the Patriarch Iſaac, wax dim, his, opening wide to the glare of Archiepiſcopal ſplendour, viewed in its cleareſt light the expediency of that obnoxious meaſure. Had a prelate gone forth under their auſpices, there can be little doubt but that he (if not ſuch at the very outſet) would ſoon have become what we term an *effective* Biſhop, ſupported by a due train of ſubaltern dignitaries, armed with all the terrors of ſpiritual courts, and competent to the great work of "chaſtiſing with ſcorpions" the race of thoſe Diſſenters, who fled to the howling wilderneſs from the perſecutions of Laud; in a word, his little finger, emulating that of the Jewiſh Rehoboam, would have been heavier than Dr Seabury's loins. About the time when our Second George went down to the grave of his anceſtors full of years and glory, Dr Apthorp took up the controverſial pen, and maintained a long debate in favour of American Epiſcopacy, "*nec diis nec viribus æquis*," againſt Dr Mayhew, one of the paſtors of Boſton. From that time to the preſent moment there has no one attempt been made, even during the ravages of war, againſt the religious liberties of that continent, which I truſt have little to apprehend from the "*telum imbelle ſine ictu*," now aimed at them.

Though it is vulgarly conſidered as the privilege of ſome men to be above, while others are beneath, all law; it is ſufficiently obvious, that if any Engliſh Prelate had dared to conſecrate a Biſhop of Connecticut, while that country was part of the Britiſh dominions, he would have incurred a *Premunire*. Had he done ſo now it is totally detached from this empire, he would ſo far have reduced himſelf to the ſituation of the Scotch Preacher, that he could not have appeared openly in the tranſaction; and perſons of exalted rank, rendering themſelves criminal or ridiculous, have, in either caſe, ſomewhat to loſe.

Having, I truſt, obviated the charge againſt me, of being a "Reviler," I come to the equally ill-founded, though by no means equally-offenſive ſuppoſition, that I am a "Diſſenting Teacher." An orthodox, though unworthy lay-member of the religion of my country, as by law eſtabliſhed, is my real deſcription: as for aught beyond, it is totally foreign to the preſent controverſy, whether my obſcure dwelling be ſituated ſouth or north of the Tweed; there being no Proteſtant community, at leaſt none I ever heard of,

of, where belief in the indefeaſible divine right of Biſhops is inſerted in a layman's creed, or exacted from him as one of the terms of communion. The oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy I have repeatedly taken; but they give no countenance to the exorbitant proceedings of ſuch churchmen as "compaſs ſea and land to gain one proſelyte," not from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, but, like the Scribes and Phariſees cenſured by our Saviour, to the little narrow tenets of their own peculiar ſect.

Your editor ſhews a deſire of cloſing the debate in favour of my antagoniſt, with his teſtimony, "*ſit anima noſtra cum ſua.*" This I by no means wonder at, as ſome of the editors of your magazine have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſeveral ingenious performances in the antiquarian line; and I have frequently obſerved, that there is hardly a ſingle inſtance to be found, from Strype, Hearne, and Browne Willis, down to Milton's new Commentator, the preſent Laureat, of any conſiderable progreſs made in the ſcience called *Modern Antiquity*, unleſs by ſuch as place copes, croſiers, and mitres, with all the gorgeous trappings of Epiſcopacy, among the eſſentials of the Chriſtian religion.

Your conſtant reader, L. L.

Rejoinder, by "An Epiſcopal Presbyter of the Scotch Church."

SIR,

YOUR correſpondent L. L. has returned to his charge againſt the Scotch Nonjurors with a degree of fury which would ſcarcely be pardonable, were they indeed that "peſtilent race" which he is pleaſed to call them. It is happy for that ſuffering Society, that his reaſoning powers ſeem not to be in proportion to the keenneſs of his enmity, for in ſuch hands ſophiſtry is a more formidable weapon than invective; for their clergy, it is ſtill happy that he is not armed with the authority of government, for in that caſe they would ſoon be baniſhed, both prieſts and prelates, to "the howling wilderneſs." Yet I am unable to conceive what benefit could redound either to the civil or the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of Scotland, were the whole race of Nonjurors to be exterminated from the earth. Of theſe people the number is not great; their very *prejudices* are favourable to ſubordination and to peace; and of the *only* cauſe, to which they have ever been accuſed of having an improper attachment, this writer himſelf has long ago "augured that we ſhall never hear more." What then is the enormous crime which has excited againſt them this outrageous clamour? Is it the conſecration of Dr Seabury? Surely your correſpondent knows, that, if that prelate was conſecrated in the preſence of *only four ſpectators*, the conſecration was contrary to *no law*, and therefore *no crime;* and it is probable, that moſt other people will think the Scotch Biſhops guilty of no *great* offence, although, in a caſe ſo new, they tranſgreſſed the *letter* of the law (which, however, I know not that they did), by admitting *any number* of both friends and foes to witneſs the rectitude of their conduct.

In his letter, L. L. calls your attention to "the author and the object of the act of 1748." For this there appears not to have been any occaſion. The object of that act is very generally known, and by me the rectitude of its author's intention was never controverted. I affirmed, indeed, what no man, who is not very much a ſtranger to Scotland, will deny, that although it was no doubt framed with the view of cruſhing diſaffection to the government, the only thing which it has really cruſhed is religion, by having driven out of the Epiſcopal Church many perſons of conſequence, whoſe principles or prejudices will not allow them to communicate with another. Well, ſays my antagoniſt, "if the act have had no other effect than this, it has ſurely not been without its benefits to that religion which inſtructs us to reverence the powers that be."

From a free-thinking philoſopher this ſentiment might naturally have been expected, but it comes with a ſtrange appearance from an "orthodox member of a Chriſtian church." Orthodox zeal, it ſeems, produces very different effects, according to the different diſpoſitions upon which it operates: I have converſed on this ſubject with many of the clergy of the Eſtabliſhed Church of Scotland, but, though they were all convinced that the act was well *intended*, I never heard one of them ſay, that he had diſcovered "its benefits to that religion which inſtructs us to reverence the powers that be;" on the contrary, they appeared to be unanimous in the opinion, that to be of *any* church, which a man's conſcience approves, is leſs dangerous than to be of

none, and that any mode of public worſhip, addreſſed to the true God, is preferable to open impiety.

My adverſary proceeds to inform us of what he has "*always* been taught" reſpecting "the mode of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical government." In what either he or I have "been taught" the public is ſurely very little intereſted; and I muſt take the liberty to remind him, that with the modes of *civil* government the preſent controverſy has nothing to do. Concerning the modes of *eccleſiaſtical* government, we have indeed received very different inſtructions; but the queſtion in debate is *not*, which of us has been *beſt* inſtructed, but whether the Scotch biſhops, *believing* the Divine right of Epiſcopacy, and not reſtrained by an alliance with any ſtate, could, conſiſtently with their duty to their heavenly Maſter, have refuſed to conſecrate Dr Seabury. Whoever allows that biſhops, though *miſtaken*, may be *ſincere* in their principle, will acknowledge, that they could not; and with thoſe who think Epiſcopacy and ſincerity incompatible, it would be ridiculous to argue.

The Scotch Nonjurors have ever declared, that they cannot join in communion with the church by law eſtabliſhed in their country, only becauſe that church is not Epiſcopal, and becauſe ſacraments, adminiſtered without Epiſcopal authority, are, in their opinion, of a very doubtful nature, if not abſolutely invalid; but with what face could they have continued to aſſign this reaſon for their ſeparation, had their biſhops refuſed to confer upon a clergyman, circumſtanced as Dr Seabury was, who differs from them only in ſome articles of his *political* creed, a character which they profeſs to think ſo eſſential to the very being of a church? Had ſuch been their conduct, would not every man have exclaimed againſt them, would not my *antagoniſt himſelf* have probably been the *firſt* to exclaim againſt them, as a ſet of factious hypocrites, who, whatever they may *pretend*, had given a conſpicuous proof, that ſomething, much leſs excuſable than *religious* ſcruples, is the *real* cauſe of their ſeparating from the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of their country?

But, ſays my antagoniſt, "I object to the validity of the conſecration." To "object" is no difficult matter; but he has done ſomething more. Of the arguments, by which in a former letter I endeavoured to vindicate the conſecration, he ſays, that "one deſtroys itſelf," and ſeems to think, that *he* has deſtroyed the reſt, by telling us, that the "evident deſign" of the author of his favourite law "was not merely to prohibit their" (the Nonjurors) "mode of worſhip, but to impoſe due reſtraints upon a body of eccleſiaſtics, who were conſidered as the trumpeters of rebellion."

Whether the argument to which he alludes, "deſtroys *itſelf*," or has been deſtroyed by *him*, the reader muſt determine; I ſhall only requeſt, that, before determination be made, he will attend to this *ſlight* circumſtance, which my antagoniſt aſſumed as a truth ſelf-evident, that Epiſcopacy is a matter of "mere local or arbitrary inſtitution;" a propoſition which the Nonjurors are not diſpoſed to grant, and upon the reverſe of which my argument was founded. As to the act of 1748, I have already ſhewn, that, whatever was the deſign of its author, it *pretends* not to invalidate orders conferred by the Scotch Biſhops; and that, if ſuch had really been its pretenſions, it would have aimed at what, the "wily Sherlock" in the Houſe of Peers very juſtly ſaid, is beyond the reach of any human legiſlature. Of the truth of this, ſo thoroughly are the Engliſh prelates convinced, that none of them ever *has*, and, I dare ſay, none of them ever *will*, re-ordain thoſe clergymen who have received Epiſcopal orders in Scotland, which they ſurely would not heſitate to do, did they conſider ſuch orders as invalid.

But though this famous law has not deprived the Nonjuring clergy of their character, it has, however, placed them in a ſituation in which, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in this kingdom, no other body of Eccleſiaſtics was, I believe, ever placed. A prieſt of the church of Rome, by renouncing the errors of Popery, is immediately qualified to hold a living in England; a diſſenting miniſter, of whatever denomination, may be admitted into holy orders, and may riſe to the higheſt dignities in the Engliſh church; but while the preſent law exiſts, there is nothing in the power of a Nonjuring Epiſcopal clergyman to do, from which he could reap the ſmalleſt benefit; by taking the oaths to government he would not obtain a legal toleration in Scotland, he would not be qua-

lified

lified to hold a living, or to ſerve a cure in England.

To be denied even the privilege of repentance is ſurely hard: but when, many years ago, it was obſerved to an illuſtrious Prelate, that this hardſhip might be removed by re-ordination, againſt which, it was ſaid, no canon exiſts, his Lordſhip indignantly replied, that, "neither was there in old Rome a particular law againſt parricide; the legiſlature, in the one caſe, having no idea of ſuch a crime, nor the church, in the other, of ſuch groſs irregularity."

But the opinions of the Engliſh Biſhops on any queſtion appear to have very little weight with your correſpondent. He may, perhaps, with his uſual politeneſs, attribute their backwardneſs to re-ordain the Scotch Epiſcopal clergy not to principle, but to "lazineſs or luxury," and affirm, that the irregularity of ſuch a ſtep is only a pretence to ſave themſelves from a little trouble, ſhould any of thoſe clergy ever apply to them for ſo extraordinary a purpoſe. Let me therefore aſk him, whether the *Presbyterian miniſters* who were ordained in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. were, in his opinion, *validly* ordained? If they were, every thing which he has ſaid againſt the validity of Biſhop Seabury's conſecration falls to the ground; for that *conſecration* was not leſs authoriſed by the law of Scotland, or the articles of the church of England, than were thoſe *ordinations*. If he ſhould be diſpoſed to ſay, that, for want of the authority of the civil magiſtrate, even *thoſe* ordinations were invalid, I am afraid that the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church of Scotland, whom he affirms to be my "eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors," are as *eccleſiaſtics* ſuperior to no body; for from thoſe invalidly ordained miniſters, what orders they have are unqueſtionably derived. Should he alledge, as it is difficult to imagine what he may *not* alledge, that an eſtabliſhment, and nothing but an eſtabliſhment, can give a man authority to preach the goſpel, and to adminiſter the Chriſtian ſacraments, he muſt then confeſs, that there is yet no man veſted with this authority in the province of Connecticut; for, in that province, there is no eſtabliſhment: he muſt likewiſe confeſs, that, for the firſt three centuries of the Chriſtian æra, there was not, in the whole world, *one* man authoriſed to convert the nations, which was ſurely a ſtrange omiſſion—of WHOM I leave this "orthodox Chriſtian" to ſay.

This writer makes a great noiſe about the religious liberties of the American continent, "againſt which," he ſays, "no attempt was made, even during the ravages of war." I know not that, ſince the ravages cloſed, any attempt has been made againſt thoſe liberties, except by himſelf, who is very angry that 30,000 American *Epiſcopalians* have received a *biſhop*, and who has repeatedly called (I truſt in vain) for the ſeverity of the Britiſh government upon thoſe poor prelates by whom that biſhop was conſecrated. He tells us, (p. 115.), that "there is no Proteſtant community, where belief in the indefeaſible divine right of biſhops is inſerted in a layman's creed." Is there then any "Proteſtant community where it is inſerted in a layman's creed," that the religious liberties of mankind can *only* be preſerved by *with-holding* from an *Epiſcopal church* that order, without which *ſuch* a church *cannot exiſt?* It ſeems there is; but, happily for the cauſe of American Epiſcopacy, no ſuch community has yet made its appearance in the ſtate of Connecticut. In a letter of no old date, Dr Seabury writes thus: "How much do I owe to ALMIGHTY GOD, that he hath preſerved me ſafe from every *accident* of conſequence, not only in croſſing the ocean, but in coaſting-voyages of near 1000 miles; and that I have found a *kind reception* and *hearty welcome*, not only from the *church-people*, but, as far as I can judge, from *people of all denominations!* To him be thankſgiving and praiſe for evermore."

My antagoniſt appears to be highly offended at having been termed a "reviler," and gravely informs us, that he wrote with "tenderneſs." I well know, that a gentleman's veracity muſt never be called in queſtion; and yet, if *this* gentleman wrote with tenderneſs, I cannot help thinking that he muſt have written *ironically*. *Seriouſly* to accuſe any body of men of a crime of which they are confeſſedly not guilty, is certainly to "revile" them; and to "graſp at the privileges of the crown," of which, in his firſt letter, he accuſed the Scotch Biſhops, is a very heinous crime, from which their worſt enemies know them to be removed at an immenſe diſtance. Indeed, I could eaſily be perſuaded, that this writer, in his invectives againſt the Epiſcopal

Epiſcopal clergy in Scotland, is *not* ſerious; for no man, I believe, ever ſeriouſly endeavoured to blacken his enemies upon ſuch an authority as *Cibber's Nonjuror*. The character of the *Hero* of the *Dunciad*, and the merits of his works, are ſo univerſally known, that whoever, in any cauſe, builds upon them, muſt almoſt, in common juſtice, be ſuppoſed to write ironically. If this be the manner in which my *ſeeming* antagoniſt really wrote, I beg pardon for having called him a "reviler." I was blinded by his art, as Steele was by the art of Pope *; but now that my eyes are opened, I ſhall henceforth conſider him as a friend, who, when he terms the Nonjurors "a peſtilent race," intends to characteriſe them as a *harmleſs race*; and who, when he ſpeaks of the "wiles of Biſhop Sherlock", (although wiſineſs be one of the attributes which Milton gives to the Old Serpent), means "the ſimplicity and godly ſincerity" of that Prelate. We ſhall therefore, I hope, after all our *apparent* enmity, take leave of each other as becomes fellow-Chriſtians, equally zealous for the cauſe of univerſal toleration; and, in return for his condeſcenſion in giving me his "real deſcription," I aſſure him, that I neither *poſſeſs*, nor *expect*, nor think myſelf in any degree *worthy* of "a Caledonian mitre;" but am

An Epiſcopal Preſbyter of the Scotch Church.

The LOUNGER, N° 61. *Saturday, April* 1.

IN treating of the moral duties which apply to different relations of life, men of humanity and feeling have not forgotten to mention thoſe which are due from Maſters to Servants. Nothing indeed can be more natural than the attachment and regard to which the faithful ſervices of our domeſtics are intitled; the connection grows up, like all the other family-charities, in early life, and is only extinguiſhed by thoſe corruptions which blunt the others, by pride, by folly, by diſſipation, or by vice.

I hold it indeed as the ſure ſign of a mind not poiſed as it ought to be, if it is inſenſible to the pleaſures of home, to the little joys and endearments of a family, to the affection of relations, to the fidelity of domeſtics. Next to being well with his own conſcience, the friendſhip and attachment of a man's family and dependents ſeems to me one of the moſt comfortable circumſtances in his lot. His ſituation with regard to either, forms that ſort of boſom comfort or diſquiet that ſticks cloſe to him at all times and ſeaſons, and which, though he may now and then forget it amidſt the buſtle of public, or the hurry of active life, will reſume its place in his thoughts, and its permanent effects on his happineſs, at every pauſe of ambition or of buſineſs.

In ſituations and with diſpoſitions ſuch as mine, there is perhaps leſs merit in feeling the benevolent attachment to which I allude, than in thoſe of perſons of more buſtling lives, and more diſſipated attentions. To the *Lounger*, the home which receives him from the indifference of the circles in which he ſometimes loiters his time, is naturally felt as a place of comfort and protection; and an elderly man-ſervant, whom I think I govern quietly and gently, but who perhaps quietly and gently governs me, I naturally regard as a tried and valuable friend. Few people will perhaps perfectly underſtand the feeling I experience when I knock at my door, after any occaſional abſence, and hear the hurried ſtep of *Peter* on the ſtairs; when I ſee the glad face with which he receives me, and the look of honeſt joy with which he pats Cæſar (a Pomeranian dog who attends me in all my excurſions) on the head, as if to mark his kind reception of him too; when he tells me he knew my rap, makes his modeſt inquiries after my health, opens the door of my room, which he has arranged for my reception, places my ſlippers before the fire, and draws my elbow-chair to its uſual ſtand; I confeſs I ſit down in it with a ſelf-complacency which I am vain enough to think a bad man were incapable of feeling.

It appears to me a very pernicious miſtake, which I have ſometimes ſeen parents guilty of in the education of their children, to encourage and incite in them a haughty and deſpotic behaviour to their ſervants; to teach them an early conceit of the difference of their conditions; to accuſtom them to conſider the ſervices of their attendants as perfectly compenſated by the wages they receive, and as unworthy of any return of kindneſs, attention, or complacency. Something of this kind muſt indeed neceſſarily happen in the great and fluctuating eſtabliſhments of faſhionable life; but I am ſorry to ſee it of late gaining ground in the country of

* Guardian, N° 40.

of Scotland, where, from particular circumſtances, the virtues and fidelity of a great man's houſehold were wont to be conſpicuous, and exertions of friendſhip and magnanimity in the cauſe of a maſter uſed to be cited among the traditional *memorabilia* of moſt old families.

When I was, laſt autumn, at my friend Colonel *Cauſtic's* in the country, I ſaw there, on a viſit to Miſs Cauſtic, a young gentleman and his ſiſter, children of a neighbour of the Colonel's, with whoſe appearance and manner I was peculiarly pleaſed.—"The hiſtory of their parents," ſaid my friend, "is ſomewhat particular, and I love to tell it, as I do every thing that is to the honour of our nature. Man is ſo poor a thing taken in the groſs, that when I meet with an inſtance of nobleneſs in detail, I am fain to reſt upon it long, and to recall it often; as, in coming hither over our barren hills, you would look with double delight on a ſpot of cultivation or of beauty."

"The father of thoſe young folks, whoſe looks you were ſtruck with, was a gentleman of conſiderable domains and extenſive influence on the northern frontier of our county. In his youth he lived, as it was then more the faſhion than it is now, at the ſeat of his anceſtors, ſurrounded with Gothic grandeur, and compaſſed with feudal followers and dependents, all of whom could trace their connection, at a period more or leſs remote, with the family of their chief. Every domeſtic in his houſe bore the family-name, and looked on himſelf as in a certain degree partaking its dignity, and ſharing its fortunes. Of theſe, one was in a particular manner the favourite of his maſter. *Albert Bane* (the ſirname, you know, is generally loſt in a name deſcriptive of the individual) had been his companion from his infancy. Of an age ſo much more advanced as to enable him to be a ſort of tutor to his youthful Lord, Albert had early taught him the rural exerciſes and rural amuſements, in which himſelf was eminently ſkilful; he had attended him in the courſe of his education at home, of his travels abroad, and was ſtill the conſtant companion of his excurſions, and the aſſociate of his ſports."

"On one of thoſe latter occaſions, a favourite dog of Albert's, whom he had trained himſelf, and of whoſe qualities he was proud, happened to mar the ſport which his maſter expected, who, irritated at the diſappointment, and having his gun ready cocked in his hand, fired at the animal, which, however, in the hurry of his reſentment, he miſſed. Albert, to whom *Oſcar* was as a child, remonſtrated againſt the raſhneſs of the deed, in a manner rather too warm for his maſter, ruffled as he was with the accident, and conſcious of being in the wrong, to bear. In his paſſion he ſtruck his faithful attendant; who ſuffered the indignity in ſilence, and retiring, rather in grief than in anger, left his native country that very night; and when he reached the neareſt town, enliſted with a recruiting party of a regiment then on foreign ſervice. It was in the beginning of the war with France which broke out in 1744, rendered remarkable for the rebellion which the policy of the French court excited, in which ſome of the firſt families of the Highlands were unfortunately engaged. Among thoſe who joined the ſtandard of *Charles*, was the maſter of Albert."

"After the unfortunate battle of *Culloden*, this gentleman, along with others who had eſcaped the ſlaughter of the field, ſheltered themſelves from the rage of the unſparing ſoldiery, among the diſtant receſſes of their country. To him his native mountains offered an aſylum; and thither he naturally fled for protection. Acquainted, in the purſuits of the chace, with every ſecret path and unworn track, he lived for a conſiderable time, like the deer of his foreſt, cloſe hid all day, and only venturing down at the fall of evening, to obtain from ſome of his cottagers, whoſe fidelity he could truſt, a ſcanty and precarious ſupport. I have often heard him, for he is one of my oldeſt acquaintances, deſcribe the ſcene of his hiding-place, at a later period, when he could recollect it in its ſublimity, without its horror."——"At times," ſaid he, "when I ventured to the edge of the wood, among ſome of thoſe inacceſſible crags which you remember a few miles from my houſe, I have heard, in the pauſes of the breeze which rolled ſolemn through the pines beneath me, the diſtant voices of the ſoldiers, ſhouting in anſwer to one another amidſt their inhuman ſearch. I have heard their ſhots re-echoed from cliff to cliff, and ſeen reflected from the deep ſtill lake below, the gleam of thoſe fires which conſumed the cottages of my people. Sometimes ſhame and indignation well nigh overcame my fear, and I have prepared to ruſh down the ſte[e]

unarm[ed]

unarmed as I was, and to die at once by the ſwords of my enemies; but the inſtinctive love of life prevailed, and ſtarting as the roe bounded by me, I have again ſhrunk back to the ſhelter I had left."

"One day," continued he, "the noiſe was nearer than uſual; and at laſt, from the cave in which I lay, I heard the parties immediately below ſo cloſe upon me, that I could diſtinguiſh the words they ſpoke. After ſome time of horrible ſuſpenſe, the voices grew weaker and more diſtant; and at laſt I heard them die away at the further end of the wood. I roſe and ſtole to the mouth of the cave; when ſuddenly a dog met me, and gave that ſhort quick bark by which they indicate their prey. Amidſt the terror of the circumſtance, I was yet maſter enough of myſelf to diſcover that the dog was *Oſcar*; and I own to you I felt his appearance like the retribution of juſtice and of Heaven.--Stand! cried a threatening voice, and a ſoldier preſſed through the thicket, with his bayonet charged.—It was Albert! Shame, confuſion, and remorſe, ſtopped my utterance, and I ſtood motionleſs before him.—"My maſter," ſaid he, with the ſtifled voice of wonder and of fear, and threw himſelf at my feet.—I had recovered my recollection. "You are revenged," ſaid I, "and I am your priſoner."—"Revenged! Alas! you have judged too hardly of me; I have not had one happy day ſince that fatal one on which I left my maſter; but I have lived, I hope, to ſave him. The party to which I belong are paſſed; for I lingered behind them among thoſe woods and rocks which I remembered ſo well in happier days.—There is, however, no time to be loſt. In a few hours this wood will blaze, though they do not ſuſpect that it ſhelters you. Take my dreſs, which may help your eſcape, and I will endeavour to diſpoſe of yours. On the coaſt, to the weſtward, we have learned there is a ſmall party of your friends, which, by following the river's track till duſk, and then ſtriking over the ſhoulder of the hill, you may join without much danger of diſcovery."—I felt the diſgrace of owing ſo much to him I had injured, and remonſtrated againſt expoſing him to ſuch imminent danger of its being known that he had favoured my eſcape, which, from the temper of his commander, I knew would be inſtant death. Albert, in an agony of fear and diſtreſs, beſought me to think only of my own ſafety.—"Save us both," ſaid he, "for if you die, I cannot live. Perhaps we may meet again; but whatever becomes of Albert, may the bleſſing of God be with his maſter!"

Albert's prayer was heard. His maſter, by the exerciſe of talents which, though he always poſſeſſed, adverſity only taught him to uſe, acquired abroad a ſtation of equal honour and emolument; and when the proſcriptions of party had ceaſed, returned home to his own country, where he found Albert advanced to the rank of a Lieutenant in the army, to which his valour and merit had raiſed him, married to a Lady by whom he had got ſome little fortune, and the father of an only daughter, for whom nature had done much, and to whoſe native endowments it was the chief ſtudy and delight of her parents to add every thing that art could beſtow. The gratitude of the chief was only equalled by the happineſs of his follower, whoſe honeſt pride was not long after gratified, by his daughter's becoming the wife of that maſter whom his generous fidelity had ſaved. That maſter, by the clemency of more indulgent and liberal times, was again reſtored to the domain of his anceſtors, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the grandſon of Albert enjoy the hereditary birthright of his race. I accompanied Colonel Cauſtic on a viſit to this gentleman's houſe, and was delighted to obſerve our landlord's grateful attention to his father-in-law, as well as the unaſſuming happineſs of the good old man, conſcious of the perfect reward which his former fidelity had met with. Nor did it eſcape my notice, that the ſweet boy and girl, who had been our gueſts at the Colonel's, had a favourite brown and white ſpaniel, whom they careſſed much after dinner, whoſe name was *Oſcar*. [vol. 47. p. 542.]

Obſervations on LONGEVITY: *By* ANTHONY FOTHERGILL, *M. D. F. R. S. in a Letter to Dr* PERCIVAL. *From the Memoirs of the Literary Society of Mancheſter.*

I Have often thought it would be an uſeful undertaking, to collect into one point of view the memorable inſtances of long-lived perſons, whoſe ages are recorded by monumental inſcriptions, biographical writings, or even by the public prints. The only judicious attempt I have yet ſeen of this kind was by the ingenious Mr Whitehurſt, a few years ago, in his inquiry into the origin and formation

tion of the earth. To the examples of longevity mentioned by him, as collected by a perſon of veracity from the above ſources, I have now added ſundry remarkable inſtances of a ſimilar kind, as they have occurred to me in the courſe of reading; and have annexed the authorities (ſo far as was practicable), that you may be enabled to judge of the degree of credibility that may ſeem due to the reſpective facts, and of the allowance which it may appear neceſſary to make for that natural propenſity which mankind have ever betrayed for the marvellous. Now, admitting that many of the ages may have been ſomewhat exaggerated, yet ſtill there can be no poſſible doubt, that even theſe have extended far beyond the ordinary period of life, and may therefore be intitled to a place in the following tables; which I ſubmit to your conſideration, as a ſmall ſpecimen of what might be more worthy your attention, if conducted hereafter on a larger ſcale, and purſued with chronological accuracy.

Names of the Perſons.	*Ages*	*Places of Abode.*	*Living or Dead.*
Thomas Parre	152	Shropſhire	Died November 16. 1635. Phil. Tranſ. No. 44.
Henry Jenkins	169	Yorkſhire	Died December 8. 1670. Phil. Tranſ. No. 221.
Robert Montgomery	126	Ditto	Died in 1670
James Sands	140	Staffordſhire	Ditto, Fuller's Worthies, p. 47.
His Wife	120	Ditto	
Counteſs of Deſmond	140	Ireland	Raleigh's Hiſt. p. 166.
—— Eccleſton	143	Ditto	Died - 1691 (*a*)
J. Sagar	112	Lancaſhire	- - 1668 (*b*)
—— Laurence	140	Scotland	Living (*c*)
Simon Sack	141	Trionia	Died May 30. 1764
Col. Tho. Winſlow	146	Ireland	—— Aug. 26. 1766
Francis Conſiſt	150	Yorkſhire	—— Jan. 1768
Chriſt. J. Drakenberg	146	Norway	—— June 24. 1770 (*d*)
Margaret Forſter	136	Cumberland	Both living 1771
—— her Daughter	104	Ditto	
Francis Bons	121	France	Died Feb. 6. 1769
John Brookey	134	Devonſhire	Living - 1777 (*e*)
James Bowels	152	Killingworth	Died Aug. 15. 1656 (*f*)
John Tice	125	Worceſterſhire	—— March 1774 (*g*)
John Mount	136	Scotland	—— Feb. 27. 1776 (*h*)
A. Goldſmith	140	France	—— June 1776 (*i*)
Mary Yates	128	Shropſhire	- - 1776 (*k*)
John Bales	126	Northampton	—— April 5. 1706 (*l*)
William Ellis	130	Liverpool	—— Aug. 16. 1780 (*m*)
Louiſa Truxo, a Negreſs in S. America	175	Tucuman, S. America	Living Oct. 5. 1780 (*n*)
Margaret Patten	138	Lockneugh, near Paiſley	Lynche's Guide to Health
Janet Taylor	108	Fintray, Scotland	Died Oct. 10. 1780
Richard Lloyd	133	Montgomery	Lynche's Guide to Health
Suſannah Hilliar	100	Piddington, Northamptonſhire	Died Feb. 19. 1781 (*o*)
James Hayley	112	Middlewich, Cheſhire	—— March 17. 1781 (*p*)
Ann Cockbolt	105	Stoke-Bruerne, Northamptonſhire	—— April 5. 1775 (*q*)

William Walker, aged 112, not mentioned above, who was a ſoldier at the battle of Edge-Hill.

(*a*) *Fuller's* Worthies, p. 140. (*b*) Phil. Tranſ. abridged by Lowthorp, vol. iii. p. 306. (*c*) *Derham's* Phyſico-Theology, p. 173 (*d*) Annual Regiſter. (*e*) Daily Advertiſer, Nov. 18. 1777. (*f*) Warwickſhire. (*g*) Daily Advertiſer, March 1774. (*h*) Morning Poſt, Feb. 29. 1776. (*i*) Daily Advertiſer, June 24. 1776. (*k*) Ibidem, Aug. 22. 1776. (*l*) See Inſcription in the Portico of All-Saints Church. (*m*) London Evening Poſt, Aug. 22. 1780. (*n*) London Chronicle, Oct 5. 1780. (*o*) Northamp. Mercury, Feb. 19. 1781. (*p*) Gen. Evening Poſt, March 24. 1781. (*q*) known to perſons of credit at Northampton.

If we look back to an early period of the Chriſtian æra, we ſhall find that Italy has been, at leaſt about that time, peculiarly propitious to longevity. Lord Bacon obſerves, that the year of our Lord 76, in the reign of Veſpaſian, was memorable; for in that year was a taxing, which afforded the moſt authentic method of knowing the ages of men. From it, there were found in that part of Italy, lying between the Appennine mountains and the river Po, one hundred and twenty four perſons who either equalled or exceeded one hundred years of age, namely:

	54 Perſons	of 100 years each.
	57	of 110
	2	of 125
	4	of 130
	4	of 136
	3	of 140
In Parma	3	of 120 years each
	2	of 130
In Bruſſels	1	of 125
In Placentia	1	of 131
In Faventia	1	of 132
	6	of 110
	4	of 120
In Rimino	1	of 150 years, viz. Marcus Aponius.

Mr Carew, in his ſurvey of Cornwall, aſſures us, that it is no unuſual thing with the inhabitants of that country to reach ninety years of age and upwards, and even to retain their ſtrength of body and perfect uſe of their ſenſes. Beſides Brown, the Corniſh beggar, who lived to 120, and one Polezew to 130 years of age, he remembered the deceaſe of four perſons in his own pariſh, the ſum of whoſe years, taken collectively, amounted to 340. Now, although longevity evidently prevails more in certain diſtricts than in others, yet it is by no means confined to any particular nation or climate; nor are there wanting inſtances of it, in almoſt every quarter of the globe, as appears from the preceding, as well as the ſubſequent table.

Names of the Perſons.	*Age.*	*Places of Abode.*	*Where Recorded.*
Hippocrates, Phyſician	104	Iſland of Cos	Lynche on Health, chap. 3.
Democritus, Philoſopher	109	Abdera	Bacon's Hiſtory, 1095
Galen, Phyſician	140	Pergamus	Voſſ. Inſt. or lib. 3.
Albuna Marc	150	Ethiopia	Hakewell's ap. lib. 1.
Dumitur Raduly	140	Haromſzeck, Tranſylvania.	Died Jan 18. 1782. Gen. Gazeteer, April 18.
Titus Fullonius	150	Bononia	Fulgoſus, lib. 8.
Abraham Paiba	142	Charleſtown, South Carolina	General Gazetteer
L. Tertulla	137	Arminium	Fulgoſus, lib. 8.
Lewis Cornaro	100	Venice	Bacon's Hiſt. of Life, &c. p. 134
Robert Blackney, Eſq;	114	Armach, Ireland	General Gazetteer
Margaret Scott	125	Dalkeith, Scotland	See Inſcrip. on her Tomb in Dalkeith Church-yard
W. Gulſtone	140	Ireland	Fuller's Worthies
J. Bright	105	Ludlow	Lynche on Health
William Poſtell	120	France	Bacon's Hiſtory, p. 134.
Jane Reeves	103	Eſſex	St J. Chron. June 14. 1781
W. Paulet, Marquis of Wincheſter.	106	Hampſhire	Baker's Chron. p. 502
John Wilſon	116	Suffolk	Gen. Gaz. Oct. 29. 1782
Patrick Wian	115	Leſbury, Northumberland	Plempius Fundammed. Sect 4 Chap. 8.
M. Laurence	140	Orcades	Buchanan's Hiſt. of Scot.
Evan Williams	145	Carmarthen Workhouſe, ſtill alive	Gen. Gazetteer, Oct. 12. 1782.

The antediluvians are purpoſely omitted, as bearing too little reference to the preſent race of mortals to afford any ſatisfactory concluſions; and the improbable ſtories of ſome perſons who have almoſt rivalled them in modern times, border too much upon the marvellous, to find a place in theſe tables. The preſent examples

examples are abundantly ſufficient to prove, that longevity does not depend ſo much as has been ſuppoſed, on any particular climate, ſituation, or occupation in life. For we ſee, that it often prevails in places where all theſe are extremely diſſimilar; and it would, moreover, be very difficult, in the hiſtories of the ſeveral perſons above mentioned, to find any circumſtance common to them all, except, perhaps, that of being born of healthy parents, and of being inured to daily labour, temperance, and ſimplicity of diet. Among the inferior ranks of mankind, therefore, rather than amongſt the ſons of eaſe and luxury, ſhall we find the moſt numerous inſtances of longevity; even frequently, when other external circumſtances ſeem extremely unfavourable: as in the caſe of the poor ſexton at Peterborough, who, notwithſtanding his unpromiſing occupation among dead bodies, lived long enough to bury two crowned heads, and to ſurvive two complete generations *. The livelihood of Henry Jenkins and Old Parre, is ſaid to have conſiſted chiefly of the coarſeſt fare, as they depended on precarious alms. To which may be added the remarkable inſtance of Agnes Milburne, who, after bringing forth a numerous offspring, and being obliged, through extreme indigence, to paſs the latter part of her life in St Luke's workhouſe, yet reached her hundred and ſixth year, in that ſordid unfriendly ſituation †. The plain diet, and invigorating employments of a country life, are acknowledged on all hands to be highly conducive to health and longevity, while the luxury and refinements of large cities are allowed to be equally deſtructive to the human ſpecies: and this conſideration alone, perhaps, more than counterbalances all the boaſted privileges of ſuperior elegance and civilization reſulting from a city life.

From country villages, and not from crowded cities, have the preceding inſtances of longevity been chiefly ſupplied. Accordingly it appears from the London bills of mortality, during a period of thirty years, viz. from the year 1728 to to 1758, the ſum of the deaths amounted to 750,322; and that, in all this prodigious number, only two hundred and forty two perſons ſurvived the hundredth year of their age! This overgrown metropolis is computed by my learned friend Dr Price, to contain a ninth part of the inhabitants of England, and to conſume annually ſeven thouſand perſons, who remove into it from the country every year, without increaſing it. He moreover obſerves, that the number of inhabitants in England and Wales has diminiſhed about one fourth part ſince the Revolution, and ſo rapidly of late, that, in eleven years, near 200,000 of our common people have been loſt ‡! If the calculation be juſt, however alarming it may appear in a national view, there is this conſolation, when conſidered in a philoſophical light, that without partial evil, there can be no general good; and that what a nation loſes in the ſcale of population at one period, it gains at another; and thus probably, the average number of inhabitants on the ſurface of the globe continues at all times nearly the ſame. By this medium, the world is neither overſtocked with inhabitants, nor kept too thin, but life and death keep a tolerable equal pace. The inhabitants of this iſland, comparatively ſpeaking, are but as the duſt of the balance; yet, inſtead of being diminiſhed, we are aſſured by other writers, that, within theſe thirty years, they are greatly increaſed §.

The deſire of ſelf-preſervation, and of protracting the ſhort ſpan of life, is ſo intimately interwoven with our conſtitution, that it is juſtly eſteemed one of the firſt principles of our nature, and, in ſpite even of pain and miſery, ſeldom quits us to the laſt moments of our exiſtence. It ſeems, therefore, to be no leſs our duty than our intereſt, to examine minutely into the various means that have been conſidered as conducive to health and long life; and, if poſſible, to diſtinguiſh ſuch circumſtances as are eſſential to that great end, from thoſe which are merely accidental. But here, it is much to be regretted, that an accurate hiſtory of the lives of all the remarkable perſons in the above Table, ſo far as relates to the diet, regimen, and the uſe of the *non-naturals*, has not been faithfully handed down to us; without which it is impoſſible to draw the neceſſary inferences. Is it not then a matter of aſtoniſhment, that hiſtorians and philoſophers have hitherto paid ſo little attention to longevity? If

* Fuller's Worthies, p. 293, from a Memorial in the Cathedral at Peterborough.

† Lynche's Guide to Health, chap. iii.

‡ Obſervations on Population, &c. p. 305.

§ The Rev. Mr Howlet, Mr Wales, and others.

the preſent imperfect liſt ſhould excite others, of more leiſure and better abilities, to undertake a full inveſtigation of ſo intereſting a ſubject, the enquiry might prove not only curious, but highly uſeful to mankind.

In order to furniſh materials for a future hiſtory of longevity, the bills of mortality throughout the kingdom ought firſt to be reviſed, and put on a better footing, agreably to the ſcheme which you pointed out ſome time ago, and of which Mancheſter and Cheſter have already given a ſpecimen highly worthy of imitation. The plan, however, might be further improved with very little trouble, by adding a particular account of the diet and regimen of every perſon who dies at eighty years of age or upwards; and mentioning, whether his parents were healthy, long-lived people, &c. An accurate regiſter, thus eſtabliſhed throughout the Britiſh dominions, would be productive of many important advantages to ſociety, not only in a medical and philoſophical, but alſo in a political and moral view.

All the circumſtances that are moſt eſſentially neceſſary to life, may be compriſed under the ſix following heads.

1. Air and climate; 2. Meat and drink; 3. Motion and reſt; 4. The ſecretions and excretions; 5. Sleep and watching; 6. Affections of the mind.

Theſe, though all perfectly natural to the conſtitution, have by writers been ſtyled the *non naturals*, by a ſtrange perverſion of language; and have been all copiouſly handled under that improper term. However, it may not be amiſs to offer a few ſhort obſervations on each, as they are ſo immediately connected with the preſent ſubject.

1. Air, &c. It has long been known, that freſh air is more immediately neceſſary to life than food; for a man may live two or three days without the latter, but not many minutes without the former. The vivifying principle contained in the atmoſphere, ſo eſſential to the ſupport of flame, as well as animal flame, concerning which authors have propoſed ſo many conjectures, appears now to be nothing elſe but that pure dephlogiſticated fluid lately diſcovered by that ingenious philoſopher, Dr Prieſtley. The common atmoſphere may well be ſuppoſed to be more or leſs healthy, in proportion as it abounds with this animating principle. As this exhales, in copious ſtreams, from the green leaves of all kinds of vegetables, even from thoſe of the moſt poiſonous kind, may we not, in ſome meaſure, account why inſtances of longevity are ſo much more frequent in the country than in great cities; where the air, inſtead of partaking ſo largely of this ſalutary impregnation, is daily contaminated with noxious animal effluvia, and phlogiſton?

With reſpect to climate, various obſervations conſpire to prove, that thoſe regions which lie within the temperate zones are beſt calculated to promote long life. Hence, perhaps, may be explained, why Italy has produced ſo many long livers, and why iſlands in general are more ſalutary than continents; of which Bermudas, and ſome others, afford examples. And it is a pleaſing circumſtance, that our own iſland appears from the above table, (notwithſtanding the ſudden viciſſitudes to which it is liable), to contain far more inſtances of longevity than could well be imagined. The ingenious Mr Whitehurſt aſſures us, from certain facts, that Engliſhmen are in general longer lived than North Americans; and that a Britiſh conſtitution will laſt longer, even in that climate, than a native one *. But it muſt be allowed in general, that the human conſtitution is adapted to the peculiar ſtate and temperature of each reſpective climate, ſo that no part of the habitable globe can be pronounced too hot or too cold for its inhabitants. Yet, in order to promote a friendly intercourſe between the moſt remote regions, the Author of Nature has wiſely enabled the inhabitants to endure great and ſurpriſing changes of temperature with impunity †.

2. Foods and drink. Though foods and drink of the moſt ſimple kinds are allowed to be the beſt calculated for ſupporting the body in health, yet it can hardly be doubted, but variety may be ſafely indulged occaſionally, provided men would reſtrain their appetites within the bounds of temperance. For bountiful nature cannot be ſuppoſed to have poured forth ſuch a rich profuſion of proviſions, merely to tantaliſe the human ſpecies, without attributing to her

* Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth.

† See remarkable inſtances of this, in the Account of Experiments in a heated room. By Dr George Fordyce and others. [vol 47. p. 209]

the

the part of a cruel ſtep-dame, inſtead of that of the kind and indulgent parent. Beſides, we find, that, by the wonderful powers of the digeſtive organs, a variety of animal and vegetable ſubſtances, of very diſcordant principles, are happily aſſimilated into one bland homogeneous chyle; therefore it ſeems natural to diſtruſt thoſe cynical writers who would rigidly confine mankind to one ſimple diſh, and their drink to the mere water of the brook. Nature, it is true, has pointed out that mild inſipid fluid as the univerſal diluent; and, therefore, moſt admirably adapted for our daily beverage. But experience has equally proved, that vinous and ſpirituous liquors, on certain occaſions, are no leſs ſalutary and beneficial, whether it be to ſupport ſtrength againſt ſickneſs or bodily fatigue, or to exhilarate the mind under the preſſure of heavy misfortunes. But, alas! what Nature meant for innocent and uſeful cordials, to be uſed only occaſionally, and according to the direction of reaſon; cuſtom and caprice have, by degrees, rendered habitual to the human frame, and liable to the moſt enormous and deſtructive abuſes. Hence it may be juſtly doubted, whether gluttony and intemperance have not depopulated the world more than even ſword, peſtilence, and famine. True, therefore, is the old maxim, *Modus utendi ex veneno facit medicamentum, ex medicamento, venenum.*

3. & 4. Motion and reſt, ſleep and watching. It is allowed on all hands, that alternate motion and reſt, and ſleep and watching, are neceſſary conditions to health and longevity; and that they ought to be adapted to age, temperament, conſtitution, temperature of the climate, &c.; but the errors which mankind daily commit in theſe reſpects, become a fruitful ſource of diſeaſes. While ſome are bloated and relaxed with eaſe and indolence, others are emaciated, and become rigid, through hard labour, watching, and fatigue.

5. Secretions and excretions. Where the animal functions are duly performed, the ſecretions go on regularly; and the different evacuations ſo exactly correſpond to the quantity of aliment taken in, in a given time, that the body is found to return daily to nearly the ſame weight. If any particular evacuation happen to be preternaturally diminiſhed, ſome other evacuation is proportionally augmented, and the equilibrium is commonly preſerved; but continued irregularities, in theſe important functions, cannot but terminate in diſeaſe.

6. Affections of the mind. The due regulation of the paſſions perhaps contributes more to health and longevity, than that of any other of the *non-naturals*. The animating paſſions, ſuch as joy, hope, love, &c. when kept within proper bounds, gently excite the nervous influence, promote an equable circulation, and are highly conducive to health; while the depreſſing affections, ſuch as fear, grief, and deſpair, produce the contrary effect, and lay the foundation of the moſt formidable diſeaſes.

From the light which hiſtory affords us, as well as from ſome inſtances in the above table, there is great reaſon to believe, that longevity is in a great meaſure hereditary; and that healthy long-lived parents would commonly tranſmit the ſame to their children, were it not for the frequent errors in the *non-naturals*, which ſo evidently tend to the abbreviation of human life.

Whence is it, but from theſe cauſes, and the unnatural modes of living, that, of all the children which are born in the capital cities of Europe, nearly one half die in early infancy? To what elſe can we attribute this extraordinary mortality? Such an amazing proportion of premature deaths is a circumſtance unheard of among ſavage nations, or among the young of other animals! In the earlieſt ages, we are informed that human life was protracted to a very extraordinary length; yet how few perſons, in theſe latter times, arrive at that period which nature ſeems to have deſigned! Man is by nature a field animal, and ſeems deſtined to riſe with the ſun, and to ſpend a large portion of his time in the open air, to inure his body to robuſt exerciſes and the inclemency of the ſeaſons, and to make a plain homely repaſt only when hunger dictates. But art has ſtudiouſly defeated the kind intentions of nature; and by enſlaving him to all the blandiſhments of ſenſe, has left him, alas, an eaſy victim to folly and caprice! To enumerate the various abuſes, which take place from the earlieſt infancy, and which are continued through the ſucceeding ſtages of modiſh life, would carry me far beyond my preſent intention. Suffice it to obſerve, that they prevail more particularly among people who are the moſt highly poliſhed and refined. To compare

pare their artificial mode of life with that of nature, or even with the long livers in the liſt, would, probably, afford a very ſtriking contraſt; and, at the ſame time, ſupply an additional reaſon, why, in the very large cities, inſtances of longevity are ſo very rare. Of late years, the increaſing luxury and diſſipation of the age, no longer confined to the metropolis, have ſpread their contagion far and wide into the country, ſo as to afford the ſage divine and ſpeculative moraliſt a more melancholy proſpect of the apparent degeneracy of the human race than perhaps was ever before exhibited.

The following are the concluding obſervations:

That ſo complicated a machine as the human body, ſo delicate in its texture, and ſo exquiſitely formed in all its parts, ſhould continue, for ſo many years, to perform its various functions, even under the moſt prudent conduct, is not a little ſurpriſing: but that it ſhould ever hold out to any advanced period, under all the rude ſhocks it ſo often meets with from riot and intemperance, which lay it open to all the various "ills that fleſh is heir to," is ſtill more truly miraculous! But here, perhaps, it may be alledged, that it never can be ſuppoſed, all the long livers purſued one uniform, regular courſe of life, ſince it is well known, that ſome of the moſt noted ones were ſometimes guilty of great deviations from ſtrict temperance and regularity. Let not this, however, encourage the giddy libertines of the preſent age to hope to render their continued ſcenes of intemperance and debauchery compatible with health and longevity. The duties and occupations of life will not, indeed, permit the generality of mankind to live by rule, and ſubject themſelves to a preciſe regimen. Fortunately this is not neceſſary: for the Divine Architect has, with infinite wiſdom, rendered the human frame ſo ductile, as to admit of a very conſiderable latitude of health; yet this has its bounds, which none can long tranſgreſs with impunity. For, if old Parre, notwithſtanding ſome exceſſes and irregularities, arrived at ſo aſtoniſhing an age, yet we have reaſon to ſuppoſe, that theſe were far from being habitual; and may alſo conclude, that had it not been for theſe abuſes, his life might have been ſtill conſiderably protracted.

On the whole, though ſome few exceptions may occur to what has been already advanced, yet it will be found in general, that all extremes are unfriendly to health and longevity. Exceſſive heat enervates the body; extreme cold renders it torpid: ſloth and inactivity clog the neceſſary movements of the machine; inceſſant labour ſoon wears it out. On the other hand, a temperate climate, moderate exerciſe, pure country air, and ſtrict temperance, together with a prudent regulation of the paſſions, will prove the moſt efficacious means of protracting life to its utmoſt limits. Now, if any of theſe require more peculiar attention than the reſt, it is undoubtedly the laſt; for the ſocial paſſions, like gentle gales, fan the brittle veſſel calmly along the ocean of life; while, on the other hand, rough turbulent ones daſh it upon rocks and quickſands. Hence, perhaps, it may be explained, why the cultivation of philoſophy, muſic, and the fine arts, all which manifeſtly tend to humanize the ſoul, and to calm the rougher paſſions, are ſo highly conducive to longevity. And, finally, why there is no ſure method of ſecuring that habitual calmneſs and ſerenity of mind which conſtitute true happineſs, and which are, at the ſame time, ſo eſſential to health and long life, without virtue.

London, Nov. 23. 1782.

BY accounts laid upon the table of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Greenland fiſhery, it appears, that the bounties granted for its encouragement, from the year 1733 (when they were firſt given) to the end of laſt year, have amounted to

For England,	L. 1,064,272 18 1
For Scotland,	202,158 16 11

Scotland fitted out no ſhips for the Greenland fiſhery until the year 1750.

The bounty to Engliſh ſhips laſt year was 84,122 l. the greateſt ever known in one year.

The Scots alſo ſeem to have increaſed; for in 1784, it was only 4,094 l. and laſt year the bounty was 7,729 l.

It appears alſo, from the above papers, that the number of ſhips fitted out for the preſent year, is as follows:

At Whitby	20
Lynn	6
Liverpool	13
Sunderland	2
Newcaſtle	16
Yarmouth	2
Hull	18
London (no mention)	

PAR-

PARLIAMENT. [p. 73.]

In the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 17, Mr Jenkinſon, previous to the introduction of his bill "for preventing all intercourſe between the United States of America and our Weſt-India colonies, except in Britiſh-built ſhips," took occaſion to explain the nature of the bill which, the year before laſt, had been brought in for that purpoſe. It was now, he ſaid, a very proper inquiry, what ſucceſs had attended that meaſure. This led him to a minute compariſon between the preſent and paſt ſtate of our trade with America; and it appeared, by clear and incontrovertible deduction, that it was now more profitable than ever. He ſhewed, at the ſame time, to what an aſtoniſhing degree it had increaſed the ſhipping of this country, and pointed out the advantages reſulting from that circumſtance to our navy. He illuſtrated the connection which ſtill ſubſiſted between the two countries as operating powerfully in favour of a reciprocal commercial intercourſe. This connection, he ſaid, was waxing ſtronger and ſtronger every day. The manners of our trading people were more congenial to thoſe of the Americans than thoſe of any other country; they were alſo emerging from difficulties. He deſired particularly the attention of the Houſe to this circumſtance, as he conſidered the American trade, by a variety of unforeſeen, but fortunate circumſtances, to be in ſome degree monopoliſed by this country. It may be aſked, under theſe circumſtances, why not make the bill perpetual? A variety of cauſes ſtood in the way. A petition, he underſtood, was to be preſented againſt it from Jamaica. A commercial treaty with America was in negotiation, in which ſome conceſſions would undoubtedly militate with the proviſions of the bill. He therefore moved, that the "bill for regulating the trade of this country with the United States of America," be continued another year. Agreed to.

Mr Burke roſe to bring forward his charges againſt Mr Haſtings, the late Governor General of India. He prefaced his addreſs to the Houſe, by deſiring the clerk to read the 44th reſolution of the ſecret committee, dated May 1782; in which the committee, in the ſtrongeſt terms, expreſs their diſapprobation of commencing hoſtilities againſt the native princes without juſt provocation; and enforce it as the duty of the court of directors forthwith to recall ſuch member or members of their principal preſidencies as appear to have been chiefly concerned in acting upon a contrary ſyſtem. This reſolution being read at large, as the ground on which he was to proceed, he declared, that it was far from his wiſh to call forth accuſations when the taſk was not excluſively his own; and, on the preſent occaſion, the proſecution ſhould have been the proſecution of the Houſe, and the exertion the exertion of the learned gentleman, [Mr Dundas], who ought not to have ſuffered him [Mr Burke] to be called upon by Mr Haſtings to produce a ſpecific charge againſt him. This early advance, Mr Burke ſaid, looked either like innocence or magnanimity; but it ſhould be remembered, that the perſon now accuſed was a veteran to cenſure. For twelve years he had borne it under all its aggravations; every returning ſhip to India had carried returning charges, which his ſubſequent conduct in every year had ſhewed to have been powerleſs. From the preſent call, however, he would not now recede. He would hazard all the odium and all the labour; and would even wiſh it to be remembered, that, if the accuſed was found innocent, he, the accuſer, might be thought culpable.

Having ſaid this, he drew the attention of the Houſe to the riſe, progreſs, and termination, of that ſyſtem which had been the object of his conſtant reprobation, the conqueſts of the Company in Bengal; conqueſts that had been productive of the moſt enormous abuſes. By theſe the Company and the public were exceedingly alarmed; and Lord Clive was ſent out, in 1765, with full powers for reducing them. He executed his commiſſion to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Mr Haſtings, who in 1769 had been ſent as ſecond in command to Fort St George, and who had recommended himſelf to his ſuperiors by a ſeries of actions that had been deemed meritorious, was nominated to the government of Bengal ſoon after the great famine, which, by depopulating the country, had almoſt laid it waſte. This dreadful ſcourge occaſioned murmurs from one end of India to the other, and produced the well known regulating act of 1773. This famous act, which gave a new government to India, Mr Haſtings

was

was appointed to carry into execution. And from this period the Company's affairs were under the direction of the Britiſh parliament. Here he entered into a detail of the proceedings of the two committees appointed to inveſtigate the concerns of the Company; one under Gen. Smith, the other under the preſidency of the learned gentleman [Mr Dundas], who ought to have undertaken the preſent proſecution. From theſe inquiries it came out, that Warren Haſtings was culpable in every reſpect in which criminality was practicable; that to the natives he had been proud, rapacious, and cruel; to his employers, refractory, treacherous, and inſolent; to his countrymen in India, partial, imperious, and vindictive; and to the princes of the country with whom he had connection, dark, deſigning, and perfidious. Theſe, he ſaid, were the charges that he was called upon by Mr Haſtings to ſubſtantiate, and which he was ſorry could not be refuted. The court of directors had followed the long inveſtigation of the committees by one equally earneſt; but, after all their inquiries, the court of proprietors, from cauſes unknown, and without adequate information, had thought proper to ſupport the ſame agent in thoſe guilty ſcenes, and to order that Warren Haſtings ſhould not be recalled; but, as there had been no merit ſince to ſtand in equipoiſe with the criminality of that period, he could not now imagine that parliament would ſhrink from its dignity ſo far as to recede from its own ſentence. He called upon the Houſe, therefore, to aſſiſt him in the proſecution, as he owned much delicacy was required. There were, in his opinion, three ways by which it might be carried into effect.

The firſt, by ordering his Majeſty's Attorney-General to file a bill againſt him in the court of King's-bench; but, high as he held the dignity of that court, and venerable as he regarded the talents and character of the judge who preſided there, it did not ſtrike him as the moſt eligible mode of aſſerting the juſtice of the nation in a cauſe of ſuch magnitude, involving diſobedience to all the laws of a man's country, the extirpation of nations, the ſale of kingdoms, the oppreſſion of millions, and the ejection of princes, by blending it with the petty cauſes that are daily to be decided in that court.

He was as little for a bill of pains and penalties, as not being ſure how far it might be a puniſhment competent to the crimes charged.

The third, which met his moſt decided preference, and which he thought equal to the dignity of the occaſion, was an impeachment before the Houſe of Lords, in which the Commons of England were to be the accuſers.

He then ſtated the neceſſity of bringing forward that large body of evidence on which the charge reſted; and he pledged himſelf ſo to arrange it as to make it as intelligible to country gentlemen as to lawyers or to ſtateſmen; and concluded with moving for "a copy of the correſpondence between Warren Haſtings, Eſq; and the court of directors, on the ſubject of preſents and monies privately received."

Alderman Le Meſurier thought the charge and the requiſition both too general. He was, he ſaid, but a young member; but he thought a few of thoſe numerous and enormous crimes, which included delinquency of every kind in which criminality was practicable, ſhould have been ſpecifically charged by the Rt Hon. Gentleman, and that the charge and the evidence ſhould have gone hand in hand. To charge crimes in the groſs, and call for evidence without ſpecification, was, in his opinion, a new method of proſecution, unknown to the laws of this country; and he thought it not a little ſingular, that the Hon. Gentleman, who had come forward with ſo much zeal in this proſecution, ſhould have diſapproved of a trial by jury, the taking away of which by the India bill he had ſo often reprobated. He denied that the court of proprietors had decided without information on the merits of Mr Haſtings; and aſſerted, that they had every paper before them which the court of directors had thought neceſſary to determine their own judgement.

Mr Dundas, in reply, ſaid, if thoſe heavy charges the Houſe had juſt heard brought forward by the Hon. Gentleman were true, he muſt conſider himſelf criminal in a very high degree; he was, however, much better pleaſed to meet the accuſation, ſo far as related to himſelf, *face to face*, than inſidiouſly, in anonymous pamphlets, induſtriouſly circulated at home and abroad.

As to the charge of inconſiſtency, ſo much inſiſted on by the Hon. Gentleman, he made no heſitation to declare thus openly

openly, that he had, at no period of his life, ever ſaid or inſinuated, that it was his intention to bring forward any charge againſt Mr Haſtings, for the purpoſe of crimination. In the concern which he had in the inveſtigation of the affairs of India (which he conſidered as a moſt fortunate circumſtance in the events of his life), he had, it was true, been chairman of the committee which framed the reſolutions on which ſo much ſtreſs had been laid; but he took no pre-eminence in the buſineſs; and it was by chance that ever he happened to determine on the conduct of Mr Haſtings. To the preſidency of Bombay he, with the committee, had attributed the faults. And he begged leave to ſet the Rt Hon. Gentleman right, by ſtating, that the affairs of Bengal were not committed to the conſideration of that committee at which he preſided, but that the inveſtigation of the Mahratta war, and the war of the Carnatic, the breach of the treaty of Poorundah, the burdenſome eſtabliſhments which he had formed and continued for the ſake of patronage, and which conſtituted a higher degree of guilt in the parties concerned, but was ſo partitioned between the adminiſtration in India, the court of directors, and the miniſters at home, that he never once had entertained the moſt diſtant idea of bringing theſe tranſactions into a criminal court of judicature. How then could he be charged with inconſiſtency? or what charge could lie againſt him for not being foremoſt in the preſent proceeding? He did not deny that he had moved the reſolution for the recall of Mr Haſtings; but at that very time, when the Hon. Gentleman roſe, and, in his ſtrong and forcible language, charged Mr Haſtings with crimes of an enormous nature, he replied, that the object of his motion was not to have Mr Haſtings tried as a delinquent, though it was neceſſary, on grounds of expediency, to have him recalled. He certainly then thought, as he does now, Mr Haſtings highly blameable in the breach of the treaty of Poorundah, and in the burdenſome eſtabliſhments which he ſo long continued to maintain, but not in the degree to which the Hon. Gentleman has thought fit to aggravate his conduct. It had been aſſerted, that his [Mr Dundas's] conduct in the board of controul, and as a member of parliament, had not been conſiſtent; and the Hon. Gentleman had brought the vote of thanks tranſmitted to Mr Haſtings in evidence againſt him: but he begged gentlemen to recollect, that it was not in the power of the board of controul to alter the minutes of the court of directors; and if it had, at that time, March 1785, he thought Mr Haſtings well intitled to the thanks of the Company. He had deſtroyed a combination of all the princes of India, which had been formed for our deſtruction, and which, had it not been defeated, would moſt certainly have had its effect. In 1783 he had complained to an adminiſtration, who laid in excluſive pretenſions to purity, of the numbers of writers teaſing for patronage, being no leſs than 250; yet, far from contriving means to leſſen the patronage, they ſent out 36 additional candidates, all of whom, Mr Haſtings ſaid, were gaping for lacks, and deſirous to return as ſoon as poſſible to ſpend them, moſt of them recommended by perſons of the firſt influence in Great Britain. As to the papers moved for, he ſaid, he had not the leaſt objection to their production.

Mr Fox, in reply, aſſerted in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, during the adminiſtration of 1783, he never ſent out but one writer, and that was when the Earl of Shelburne was at the head of the treaſury. He hoped, therefore, that the ſuſpicion which the learned gentleman had endeavoured to excite againſt him on that ſubject would be done away. He defied him to contradict it. The learned gentleman, with an air of triumph, has challenged to meet any man face to face on the ſcore of inconſiſtency. Without diſputing his power of face, he would, he ſaid, reſt the queſtion on what the learned gentleman had himſelf declared. He does not heſitate to confeſs a change of opinion; but what does that change amount to? Only to a confeſſion that he had held two oppoſite opinions on the ſame ſubject. Such is the learned gentleman's conſiſtency! If the reſolutions were not intended to criminate, for what elſe were they framed and entered upon the journals? It was impoſſible for words to convey ſtronger cenſure; and yet the board of controul, in agreeing to the vote of thanks, had in plain terms contradicted the reſolutions of the Houſe. He would aſk, what had Mr Haſtings done ſince, to atone for the infraction of treaties, for the exterminating of nations, for the plunging the Company into a ruinous and expenſive war? The learned

gentleman ſeemed to think Mr Haſtings culpable only on two accounts; the breach of the treaty of Poorundah, and the exceſs of the Calcutta eſtabliſhment: but did he forget the Rohilla war, the ceſſion of Koran and Illyabad, the unjuſtifiable treatment of Cheyt Sing? or did he look on the preſent ſtate of the treaſury of Bengal as a proof of the merit of Mr Haſtings, where the Company's bonds are now at 30 per cent. diſcount, and treaſury-orders, which ſhould paſs as caſh, are received only at a diſcount of 10 or 12 per cent.

With regard to the mode of proſecution, it was unneceſſary for him to ſay much on the preſent occaſion, only to ſet a gentleman right who had ſpoken early in the debate, [Mr Le Meſurier], and who had miſunderſtood his Hon. Friend's meaning, by ſuppoſing he wiſhed to avoid a trial by a jury. He had only preferred a trial by impeachment as the moſt ſolemn, the moſt effectual, and the moſt ſuitable to the magnitude of the occaſion, that could be deviſed. He concluded with obſerving, that if his Hon. Friend ſhould ſucceed in his endeavours to vindicate the fame, the honour, and the juſtice of the Britiſh nation, he ſhould think him intitled to the thanks and applauſe of his country.

Mr Pitt ſaid, he did not intend to have troubled the Houſe with any obſervations of his on the preſent debate, had not the Rt Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt deviated from the object of the motion to attack his learned friend [Mr Dundas], in terms too groſs to paſs without reprehenſion. It was not a little ſingular to hear the Rt Hon. Gentleman dwell ſo long on the merits of conſiſtency, who, to be conſiſtent, had united with every man with whom he had differed, and had abandoned every man with whom he had acted; who had been long accuſtomed to beſtow cenſure and praiſe on the ſame perſon, and to take into his boſom for one purpoſe the man whom he had repreſented in the moſt odious light for another. Such is the conſiſtency of the Rt Hon. Gentleman! The conſiſtency of his learned friend was of another kind. If at any time he thought fit to alter his opinion, it was from principle. Impelled by the ſame motives, he had been invariably found in ſupport of the intereſts of his country. When, in the committee of ſecrecy, his learned friend ſaw, in the conduct of the Governor-General a bias towards maintaining his power by patronage and corrupt means, he thought it high time to procure his recall; but when afterwards he diſcovered, that the intereſt of the Company, and the exiſtence of the Britiſh government in India, could no otherwiſe be maintained than by his means, he had readily yielded to the neceſſity of the times, and did, what every friend to his country was bound to do, beſtow praiſe for praiſe-worthy ſervices, and concurred in thanking the Governor General for reſcuing from ruin the Company's affairs by his own ſole influence. As to the conduct of Mr Haſtings, he could ſay nothing of his own knowledge. It appeared to him, as a by-ſtander, that if there was much to blame, there was much to commend; and he was happy to feel in himſelf no prejudice either for or againſt him. He ſhould be ready to criminate, if charges, ſuch as had been alledged, were brought home to Mr Haſtings; but, at the ſame time, he ſhould be as ready to attend to the pleas of deſert.

Mr Fox perſevered in his charge of inconſiſtency againſt the learned gentleman. His conduct, he inſiſted, was no otherwiſe to be accounted for.

Major Scott entered into a long and elaborate juſtification of Gov. Haſtings. He had been accuſtomed, he ſaid, to the pledges of the Rt Hon. Gentleman, who had at length brought forward his threatened charges; they are numerous, and, were they true, Mr Haſtings would deſerve the moſt excruciating death; but the Rt Hon. Gentleman had ſometimes thought proper to deſcend from the high and important ſtation which he fills in this country, to the humble rank of a common pamphleteer. In that ſtation he had formerly met him upon equal terms; and he appealed to the candid world, whether he had not refuted every charge of every kind that the Rt Hon. Gentleman had brought againſt Mr Haſtings. Both the charges and the anſwer have long been before the public; and they, he ſaid, had pronounced in his favour. Year after year the Rt Hon. Gentleman had pledged himſelf to God, to this Houſe, and to his country, to prove Mr Haſtings a moſt notorious delinquent; and at length he is come forth with a general charge of criminality of every kind in which criminality could be practicable, without producing one ſpecific fact to confirm his general

general accuſation. Major Scott charged the ſecret committee with the groſſeſt partiality; with ſuppreſſing evidence when in favour of Mr Haſtings, and with countenancing falſehood when offered againſt him. Before he had the honour of a ſeat in that Houſe, he had ſitten in the gallery as a by-ſtander, and to his aſtoniſhment had heard the Rt Hon. Gentleman deſcribing, in terms more preciſe and poſitive than he could have thought the moſt fertile imagination could have invented, the murders, the robberies, the oppreſſions, and cruelties, committed by Britiſh ſubjects in India. Upon theſe occaſions he had wondered in what ſavage part of the earth the cruelties he was deſcribing were permitted. No ſuch ſcenes had ever paſſed on the fertile plains of Bengal. Had the Rt Hon. Gentleman, inſtead of thoſe aggravated charges, come forth as ſoon as Mr Haſtings arrived, as a manly accuſer, and given him an intimation of what ſpecific crimes he intended to lay to his charge, it would have been fair, honourable, and parliamentary; but he ſhould ſubmit it to the candour of the Houſe in what light to view his preſent conduct.

Other gentlemen ſpoke on the occaſion; and, the following papers being moved for, the Houſe adjourned.

1. That there be laid before this Houſe an account of the time and manner of paying into the Company's treaſury a preſent of 100,000l. made by the Nabob of Oude to Warren Haſtings, Eſq; for his preſent uſe, &c.

2. Extracts of the particulars of that part of the Company's accounts in Bengal, commonly called the Durbar expences and receipts.

3. A ſimilar extract of the Durbar expences in the preſidencies of Madras and Bombay.

4. An account of the annual revenues and expenditures of the preſidency of Bengal, from 1766 to 1785.

5. Copies of all minutes relative to a contract with Mr Auriol, ſecretary to the board and council general, for a ſupply of rice to Madras and Bombay.

6. Copies of all papers relative to the revenue and contracts of opium, ſince the year 1782.

7. Copies of all minutes of correſpondence between the Governor-General and Council, and the reſident at the Durbar of the Nabob of Bengal, ſince the month of January 1780; together with the actual employments now held, and thoſe formerly held, by Mahomed Reza Khan.

8. Copies of all minutes relative to a charge made by the Gov. Gen. Warren Haſtings, Eſq; againſt John Briſtow, Eſq; late reſident at Oude, diſtributing large ſums of money from the treaſury of Oude, without permiſſion of the Nabob, or the permiſſion or ſanction of the Company's governor of Bengal, and without accounting for the ſame.

9. Copies of all other correſpondence, during the reſidency of John Briſtow, Eſq; together with the documents therewith tranſmitted from the province of Oude; and alſo the anſwers thereto, and all proceedings relative to his conduct during the ſaid reſidency, from the month of October 1782.

Feb. 20. The order of the day being read, Mr Burke reſumed the adjourned debate, by aſking leave to ſubſtitute another motion for papers, in the room of the 9th, which had been objected to. It was to the following effect: That there be laid before the Houſe a duplicate, or copy, of the correſpondence between the Governor-General of Bengal, and the reſidents Johnſon, Lyttleton, and Briſtow, with ſuch papers as related to the royal family of Oude; alſo ſuch papers as had any reference to the affairs of Almas Ali Cawn. He hoped that, by leaving it to the officers to ſend duplicates, or copies, the greateſt part of the difficulties would be removed.

Mr Dundas ſaid, not in the leaſt; his oppoſition had ariſen from what he deemed an eſſential principle of juſtice. That when by thoſe papers a new ground of accuſation was taken, diſtinct from the reports of the ſecret committee, it was but fair that the Houſe ſhould be informed of the charges which they went to eſtabliſh, in order that, when they were known, the expediency or inexpediency of producing the papers moved for might be ſubmitted to their judgement. He believed the general ſenſe of the Houſe to be, that no papers ſhould be granted for the purpoſe of ſubſtantiating any other charge than what the face of the report warranted.

Mr Burke denied that to be the general ſenſe of the Houſe. It was diametrically oppoſite to the uniform uſage of parliament, where papers were daily called for and produced, on the motion of any member, without ſpecifying the

particular purpoſe for which they were wanted. He could conſider, therefore, the oppoſition of the learned gentleman in no other light than as a pititul ſtrata gem to get rid of the buſineſs in the beginning. He was ſorry to find the learned gentleman hoſtile to the production of papers in a parliamentary way, which were already in their poſſeſſion; and he complained much of want of ſupport. When the learned gentleman undertook the proſecution of a celebrated delinquent of an inferior order, he had the advice and aſſiſtance of the ableſt and moſt learned men in the law; he had the flower of the Britiſh ſenate on his ſide, and was ſupported by the miniſters of the crown. How different was his ſituation! But he thanked God, that he had lived to be the humble inſtrument of vindicating and aſſerting the rights of millions, periſhing under the hard hand of oppreſſion.

With regard to the miſerable ſtate of the province of Oude, as he could ſay nothing ſtronger on the ſubject than what had been written by Mr Haſtings himſelf, he begged the Houſe would indulge him while he read his ſentiments on that intereſting ſubject.

(Here he read a long extract from Mr Haſtings's letter from Lucknow; which ſee vol. 47. p. 13. & 61.)

The province of Oude, Mr Burke ſaid, was not an inconſiderable ſpot like an Engliſh county. It was a country that contained ten millions of inhabitants; its revenue was equal to the whole aggregate revenue of Great Britain; and its extent 5300 ſquare miles. Such was the magnitude of the object which was to occupy the attention of the Houſe; and he truſted they would deliberate on it with that attention which its importance demanded.

Major Scott did not wiſh, if the whole records of the India-Houſe were neceſſary, to with-hold a line of them. He could not, however, help remarking, that in the report of the ſelect committee the evidence of Lieut.-Col. Stewart, which was very material, and which accounted for the ruin of the province of Oude, was entirely omitted. Mr Haſtings had actually been the ſaviour of the province, and his conduct in that reſpect had been highly approved by the directors. With reſpect to the affair of Benares, and the demand on Cheyt Sing, he would prove to the Houſe that they were equally juſt and commendable. Here Major Scott was interrupted by

Mr Wilberforce, who ſaid, there would be no end to the buſineſs if gentlemen were ſuffered to wander from the queſtion, and introduce new matter.

Major Scott inſiſted, that he was perfectly in order in taking notice of what had been ſtated on the former debate, as the preſent was only an adjournment of that debate.

Mr Francis had always been hoſtile to the affair of Benares, for which Mr Haſtings was alone accountable. It was, he ſaid, a fortunate circumſtance that reſponſibility was attached to power. During the ſhort time that Gen. Clavering, himſelf, and Col. Monſon, ſwayed the councils of Bengal, they were undoubtedly reſponſible for every meaſure of government; but when Col. Monſon died, Mr Haſtings became all powerful; and from Sept 1776, till Jan. 1785, he alone was accountable for all the evils which had befallen India.

Mr Pitt thought the whole buſineſs might be contracted within a very narrow compaſs by a proper underſtanding at the outſet. He was ſorry, he ſaid, there ſhould be any difference about the mode of proceeding, ſince there ſeemed to be ſo much unanimity about the iſſue; it being, as he conceived, equally the deſire of all ſides of the Houſe that juſtice ſhould be obtained, either in clearing the innocent, or condemning the guilty. The papers, therefore, he preſumed, muſt have a twofold object; they muſt relate either to ſome ſpecific charge made or ſtated to the Houſe, and required for the purpoſe of ſubſtantiating that charge, or they muſt relate to ſome charge or charges already in poſſeſſion of the Houſe in the reports of the various committees, which, under their ſanction, had already inveſtigated the ſubject to a certain extent. Whatever, therefore, had obtained a place in thoſe reports ought to operate as valid evidence, unleſs the converſe of the fact ſtated could be fairly proved. The reſult, therefore, of what he wiſhed to be underſtood by the Houſe, in regard to the conduct of this important proceſs, was, that wherever there was a juſt ground of ſuſpicion that abuſes exiſted in any part of the government of Bengal, while the executive power of that government reſted with Mr Haſtings, he was reſponſible for thoſe abuſes, or at leaſt obliged to ſhew that he

he employed all the powers of which he was poſſeſſed in preventing or ſuppreſſing them. And he was clearly of opinion, that many ſuch inſtances might be ſelected from that government. He was, therefore, diſpoſed to admit of the production of papers in a very liberal ſenſe, in order that the documents, on which the Houſe were to be thus principally concerned in a criminal proſecution, might be as full and correct as poſſible. He was happy that ſo much and ſuch laudable moderation appeared in the commencement of a buſineſs the moſt ſerious and ſolemn that ever was brought on before any judicature. And he did hope that the gravity, the magnitude, and the conſequences of the matter at iſſue, would induce gentlemen to ſtudy that dignity and decorum which ſo peculiarly became them, more eſpecially on this occaſion.

Mr Fox found himſelf ſo perfectly ſatisfied with what had fallen from the Rt Hon. Gentleman, that he could not help congratulating the Houſe on the appearance of ſo much coolneſs and cordiality which prevailed on all ſides of it. He thanked the Rt Hon. Gentleman for his candour in what he had ſtated; and truſted he would be followed in ſo laudable an example by gentlemen of all parties.

Mr Burke was as anxious, he ſaid, as any member, to admit of every regulation that would ſhorten the buſineſs. And, as it ſeemed to be the ſenſe of the Houſe that he ſhould produce his charges, he had no option but in obeying. The charges to which he demanded freſh documents were, that the country of Oude, from a flouriſhing and opulent one, had been almoſt ruined—that the royal family were reduced to a ſtate of beggary and want—that the revenues, inſtead of being applied to the objects of the Company's government, were embezzled and waſted—that even ſnares or traps had been laid for rendering thoſe culpable to whom the execution of the meaſures of government had been committed—and that the moſt horrid cruelties had been practiſed on the innocent and defenceleſs natives, avowedly to facilitate and expedite the groſſeſt purpoſes of extortion and rapacity. Theſe were the facts which he pledged himſelf to prove as chargeable on Warren Haſtings, Eſq;

Mr Grenville urged the neceſſity and propriety of confining the call for papers to ſuch extracts only as concerned the points in iſſue, as there would be no end of collateral matter, and it was certainly proper to adopt as much brevity as poſſible.

Mr Burke was ſorry that he could not comply with the requiſition of the Rt Hon. Gentleman.

Major Scott was for producing all the papers demanded, and for printing them.

Mr Dundas did not approve of the idea of printing promiſcuouſly all the papers that were likely to be produced; but that was a point which would afterwards come under conſideration.

Mr Burke then proceeded to read the remainder of his motions, ſome of which were agreed to, and others rejected.

On Feb. 22. Mr Baſtard roſe to move for a copy of the reports of the board of inquiry, inſtituted in 1784, to diſcuſs the propriety of a ſyſtem of fortification, that, by comparing their opinions with the deciſion of the preſent board, the Houſe may be enabled to obtain ſome additional lights to direct them in this important and intricate buſineſs.

Mr Pitt objected to the production of the papers, as unneceſſary and unparliamentary. The deciſions of the former board had been ſubmitted to the preſent, and every opinion of that board had been adopted which appeared eligible.

Mr Baſtard inſiſted, that the papers he had moved for were eſſentially neceſſary to the preſent diſcuſſion. It was of conſequence to inquire, whether every matter of utility had been ſelected, or thoſe only choſen which could be made ſubſervient to a pre concerted ſyſtem. Such, however, was his conviction of their uſe, that, if they were ſtill refuſed, he would proceed to read, as part of his ſpeech, ſuch of them as were contained in an official paper from the Admiralty, which he held in his hand.

Mr Pitt oppoſed this mode of proceeding as highly diſorderly. To read a paper, perhaps not very fairly obtained, and to ſubmit the contents, by way of information to the Houſe, would be to introduce a mode equally novel and improper. No official papers could be admitted but in conſequence of an addreſs to the throne; and, if it were otherwiſe, the Houſe would be filled with informal communications, and addreſſes be wholly ſuperſeded. — Mr Baſtard withdrew his motion.

Capt.

Capt. Macbride roſe to move for a paper which, he ſaid, could not poſſibly produce any inconvenience, or afford any information to the enemies of the country that might affect the ſafety of the ſtate. When the board of inquiry ſat at Plymouth, the naval officers entered a minute on their proceedings, inſiſting on having before them the report of Lieutenant Hawkins, engineer, who had inſpected the coaſt of Whiteſand Bay; that report had been before them, and when that was ſeen, and the opinion of the naval officers upon it, it would be found, that the naval officers opinion was directly in the teeth of the fortifications. The Captain concluded with moving for a copy of the naval officers minute, and of Lieutenant Hawkins's report.

This motion occaſioned a deſultory converſation between Mr Pitt, Capt. Macbride, Mr Marſham, and Capt J. Luttrell, when the motion was withdrawn.

Gen. Burgoyne then moved for "a return of the infantry in the kingdom, the number of effectives, and the deficiencies to complete the eſtabliſhment, in the year 1779." Upon this a long converſation enſued, when at length the motion was amended, and made to comprehend the force of the kingdom in the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, with a ſpecific account of the diſtribution of it during the months of June and December.

Col. Norton moved for a return of the force ſtationed at Portſmouth and Plymouth during the month of Auguſt in the ſame year.

Mr Sheridan moved for a copy of the third *datum*. The motion was reſiſted by Mr Pitt, on the ground, that the Houſe having addreſſed his Majeſty, and left it to his Majeſty's diſcretion to lay ſuch parts of the report only before the Houſe as ſhould appear proper to be made public, it would be indecent and improper to call for thoſe parts that his Majeſty, in his diſcretion, had thought fit to with hold.

Mr Sheridan ſaid, the objection was a curious one, to come from the mouth of a miniſter, who when the extracts had been granted, had expreſsly told the Houſe, that if when they came, they appeared deficient or not ſufficiently ſatisfactory, gentlemen might call for additional extracts.

After a little ſparring, and a few perſonalities on both ſides, the queſtion was put and negatived.

The Houſe roſe at eight o'clock, it having been previouſly agreed, that the conſideration of the ordnance-eſtimates, with the queſtion of the fortifications, ſhould go over to the 27th.

ANECDOTE.

IN the reign of Queen Anne a very lucrative poſt under government became vacant, and many candidates ſolicited miniſtry for the ſame; among whom, the moſt urgent and importunate perſon was judged by the miniſter inadequate to the buſineſs; therefore, to rid himſelf of him, and his diſagreeable importunity, he determined to poſe him with ſome obſcure difficult queſtion. Accordingly next time he came, he told him if he could inform him who were Melchizedeck's father and mother, his requeſt ſhould be granted, and the place given to him. He thanked his Lordſhip, and aſked only one day to conſider of it. He now prepared two large bags of money of various coins, ſo that he was certain their legends contained all the letters of the alphabet. He ordered his coach, and drove away to the miniſter's houſe; who, when he ſaw the gentleman's ſervants ſweating and handing in the ſpecie, began to conceive a better opinion of his abilities; came to the door, and received him very politely. My Lord, ſaid he, the large bag contains all the letters that compoſe his father's name, as the leſſer one does thoſe of his mother's; I don't doubt but your Lordſhip has ſagacity enough to put them together. His Lordſhip, well pleaſed, ſhook him by the hand, and vowed he was the beſt ſcholar he ever met with; for he had propoſed the ſame query to many learned men, divines eſpecially, who were all unanimous he never had any father and mother: but you, learned Sir, have convinced me, and ſhall have immediate admiſſion. On this account, during the remainder of that adminiſtration, on every promotion, it became proverbial, and common to ſay, We ſuppoſe he had the recommendation of Melchizedeck's father and mother.

T. O.

NEW

NEW BOOKS.

Evidences of the Chriſtian Religion; briefly and plainly ſtated. By James Beattie, LL. D. F.R.S.E. 2 vols. ſmall 8vo. 5 s. boards. Creech, *Edinburgh.*

IT appears from an advertiſement, that this work has been approved by Dr Porteous biſhop of Cheſter, to whom it is inſcribed. The following extract from the Introduction will ſhow what is aimed at in the book.

"This religion, ſay the Chriſtians, derives its origin from Jeſus Chriſt; a perſon of unequalled wiſdom, unexampled goodneſs, and ſupernatural power; who taught it to his diſciples, commanding them to preach it in all nations. This religion, ſays the infidel, admitting that Jeſus introduced it, derives its origin from impoſture and falſehood, and owes its continuance to the enthuſiaſm, the knavery, and the folly of mankind.

The tendency of this religion, ſay its enemies, is to darken and bewilder the underſtanding, to interrupt the pleaſures of life, to confound human affairs, to debaſe the mind by ſuperſtition, and to make men timorous and cruel. The tendency of this religion, ſay they who are better acquainted with it, is to enlighten the mind with true wiſdom; to baniſh ſuperſtition; to promote univerſal righteouſneſs, charity, and peace; to comfort us in adverſity, and give proſperity its higheſt reliſh; to encourage the moſt tranſporting hopes, with full aſſurance that they will not be diſappointed; to repreſs every malevolent and every evil paſſion; to make men, whatever their outward circumſtances may be, reſigned and thankful; and, in a word, to promote their happineſs, both in time and through all eternity.

Opinions ſo oppoſite cannot both be true; and they who have the means of knowing the truth, ought to inquire on which ſide it lies. If this religion be from heaven, to be indifferent about it is inexcuſable, and muſt be dangerous. And no man is intitled to ſay that it is not from heaven, till he have ſtudied its evidence and doctrines, and found the former inſufficient to ſatisfy a fair mind, and the latter unworthy of a divine original. To refuſe to believe, or enquire about this religion, becauſe one may have read or heard ſome things plauſibly written or ſaid againſt it, would be as uncandid, as to refuſe all information concerning my character, for example, except that which is known to have been given by my mortal enemy. Between the two caſes, however, there is this difference; and a very conſiderable one it ſeems to be. To the greater part of mankind it is a matter of no moment to be informed, whether I be honeſt or the contrary, a man of ſenſe or a fool. But if the Chriſtian religion be true, and that it is falſe has not yet been proved, it muſt be a matter of infinite concern to us all, that it be accurately ſtudied, and well underſtood.

In defence of Chriſtianity many excellent books have been written; by Grotius, Clarke, Locke, Lardner, Butler, Weſt, Lyttelton, Sherlock, and others, whoſe integrity and learning will not be called in queſtion. The deſign of this little work is, not to ſuperſede as unneceſſary, but to recommend, and ſerve as an introduction to, the peruſal of thoſe great authors; by ſhowing, as plainly and as briefly as I can, to every candid reader, and eſpecially to the young, that the evidence of this religion is at leaſt ſtrong enough to merit attention and deliberate inquiry. If I can accompliſh even this purpoſe, I ſhall do ſervice to a cauſe, which, as a friend to mankind, I have always had very much at heart. For, from ſeveral converſations which it has been my chance to have with unbelievers, I have learned, that ignorance of the nature of our religion, and a diſinclination to ſtudy both it and its evidence, are to be reckoned among the chief cauſes of infidelity."

The following are the contents. Revelation is uſeful and neceſſary.—The goſpel hiſtory is true.—The goſpel conſidered as a portion of ancient hiſtory.—Of the argument from prophecy.—The faith of the firſt diſciples was the effect, not of weakneſs, but of well-grounded conviction.—The excellency and ſingular nature of Chriſtianity, a proof of its truth.—Objections anſwered.—From the number, the abilities, and the virtues, of unbelievers.—From the obſcurity of particular doctrines and paſſages.—From ſuppoſed inconſiſtencies in the goſpel hiſtory. Of inſpiration.—From the ſuppoſed unſuitableneſs of Chriſtianity to the general courſe of human affairs.—From its ſuppoſed inefficacy in reforming mankind.—From the apparent inſignificance of the human race, as compared with the extent of the univerſe.

A good elementary book on the evidence of Chriſtianity is an uſeful work.

The

The work of Grotius on this ſubject was extenſively uſeful. Addiſon's book on the ſame ſubject has done much good. The fame of theſe authors, and perhaps the circumſtance of their being laymen, drew attention to their writings in defence of revelation. Since the days of Grotius and of Addiſon, infidelity has aſſumed new forms, and the truth of Chriſtianity has been many ways illuſtrated; hence a new elementary book is needed. There is a circumſtance which renders the preſent publication peculiarly ſeaſonable. The laſt layman who wrote on the internal evidence of Chriſtianity, and whoſe name gave popularity to his book, was far from doing juſtice to the cauſe. To ſome it ſeemed an inſidious attack upon revelation; and they who thought more favourably of Mr Jenyns's intention, nevertheleſs beheld with regret religion wounded in the houſe of her friends. Dr Beattie has done juſtice to the cauſe; he reaſons with clearneſs, and fairneſs, and force. To the young who inquire candidly after truth, his book will be a ſafe and ſatisfying guide, and there is nothing in it to offend a rational believer. It is to be hoped, that the names of Dr Beattie and Biſhop Porteous added to the intrinſic merit of the work, will procure it general and ſerious attention.

The following is Dr Beattie's anſwer to the objection ariſing from the apparent inſignificance of the human race, as compared with the extent of the univerſe.

"By ſome well-meaning but weak minds, and by ſome of a different character, who were vain of their philoſophy, the apparent inſignificance of the human race may have been thought to leſſen the credibility of the Chriſtian religion. Compared to the extent of our ſolar ſyſtem this earth is but a point; and the ſolar ſyſtem itſelf, compared to the univerſe, may be little more. How then, ſay they, is it poſſible to imagine, that ſuch creatures as we are can be of ſo great importance, as that the Deity ſhould ſend his Son, accompanied with ſo many diſplays of divine power, into this little world, to inſtruct us by his doctrine and example, and die on a croſs to accompliſh our ſalvation!

This is indeed an aſtoniſhing proof of the goodneſs of the great Creator, and of the condeſcenſion of that glorious Perſon, who, for our ſake, willingly ſubmitted to ſuch debaſement. But the infinite goodneſs and power of God, though ſurpaſſing all comprehenſion, cannot exceed the belief of thoſe who know, that he, in order to communicate felicity, created this boundleſs univerſe, with all the varieties of being it contains; whom he continually ſupports and governs, and with every individual of whom he is continually preſent. The object may be too vaſt for any intelligence that is ſhort of infinite: but to Him who ſees all things, and can do all things, who had no beginning and can have no end, all this muſt be eaſy; incomparably eaſier indeed, than it is for a father to take care of his child, or for a generous friend to relieve his indigent neighbour. God's diſpenſations with reſpect to man may reaſonably enough overwhelm us with gratitude and adoration, and with a moſt humiliating ſenſe of our own unworthineſs; but let us take care that they do not raiſe within us an evil ſpirit of unbelief: which they will not do, unleſs we have the inexcuſable temerity to judge of him by ourſelves; and to infer, becauſe our goodneſs is nothing, that his cannot be perfect; and, becauſe we are ignorant and weak, that he cannot be omniſcient and almighty. Far leſs abſurd would it be, for the unlettered peaſant to deny the poſſibility of calculating eclipſes; for the blind to believe, that, becauſe they cannot ſee, there is none elſe who can; and for the poor to conclude, becauſe they cannot relieve themſelves, that it is not in the power of generoſity to relieve them.

Great extent is a thing ſo ſtriking to our imagination, that ſometimes, in the moment of forgetfulneſs, we are apt to think nothing can be important but what is of vaſt corporeal magnitude. And yet, even to our apprehenſion, when we are willing to be rational, how much more ſublime and more intereſting an object is a mind like that of Newton, than the unwieldy force and brutal ſtupidity of ſuch a monſter as the poets deſcribe Polyphemus? Who, that had it in his power, would ſcruple to deſtroy a whale, in order to preſerve a child? Nay, when compared with the happineſs of one immortal mind, the greateſt imaginable accumulation of inanimate ſubſtance muſt appear an inſignificant thing. "If we conſider (ſays Bentley) the dignity of an intelligent being, and put that in the ſcale againſt brute and inanimate matter, we

we may affirm, without over-valuing human nature, that the ſoul of one virtuous man is of greater worth and excellency than the ſun and his planets, and all the ſtars in the world." Let us not then make bulk the ſtandard of value; or judge of the importance of man from the weight of his body, or from the ſize or ſituation of the planet that is now his place of abode.

Our Saviour, as if to obviate objections of this nature, expreſſes moſt emphatically the ſuperintending care of providence, when he teaches, that it is God who adorns the graſs of the field, that without him a ſparrow falls not on the ground, and that even the hairs of our head are numbered. Yet this is no exaggeration; but muſt, if God is omniſcient and almighty, be literally true. By a ſtupendous exuberance of animal, vegetable, and mineral production, and by an apparatus ſtill more ſtupendous (if that were poſſible) for the diſtribution of light and heat, he ſupplies the means of life and comfort to the ſhort-lived inhabitants of this globe. Can it then appear incredible; nay, does not this conſideration render it in the higheſt degree probable, that he has alſo prepared the means of eternal happineſs for beings whom he has formed for eternal duration, whom he has endowed with faculties ſo noble as thoſe of the human ſoul, and for whoſe accommodation chiefly, during their preſent ſtate of trial, he has provided all the magnificence of this ſublunary world?

As far as our knowledge of nature extends, there is a wonderful ſubſerviency of one thing to another. By means of comets, it is probable, and by means of attraction it is poſſible, that our ſolar ſyſtem may be connected with other ſolar ſyſtems. Our primary and ſecondary planets, all dependent on the great central orb, reciprocally tranſmit their influences: whereby our atmoſphere is variouſly affected, and prepared for yielding nouriſhment to the innumerable tribes of animal and vegetable nature that ſurround us: and from man to the moſt diminutive inſect, and from the oak and cedar to the ſmalleſt organiſed body the microſcope can diſcover, every individual being is not only complete in itſelf, conſiſting of parts mutually adapted, and operating to their reſpective ends, but is alſo ſubſervient to the neceſſities of we know not how many other animal and vegetable ſpecies.—In unſeen worlds is it not probable that ſimilar analogies may take place?

In this our firſt period of exiſtence, our eye cannot penetrate beyond the preſent ſcene, and the human race appears one great and ſeparate community: but with other worlds and other communities, we probably may, and every argument for the truth of our religion gives us reaſon to think that we ſhall, be connected hereafter. And if by our behaviour we may, even while here, as our Lord poſitively affirms, heighten in ſome degree the felicity of angels, our ſalvation may hereafter be a matter of importance, not to us only, but to many other orders of immortal beings. They, it is true, will not ſuffer for our guilt, nor be rewarded for our obedience. But it is not abſurd to imagine, that our fall and recovery may be uſeful to them as an example; and that the divine grace manifeſted in our redemption may raiſe their adoration and gratitude into higher raptures, and quicken their ardour to enquire, with ever new delight, into the diſpenſations of infinite wiſdom. This is not mere conjecture. It derives plauſibility from many analogies in nature; as well as from Holy Writ, which repreſents the myſtery of our redemption as an object of curioſity to ſuperior beings, and our repentance as an occaſion of their joy.

Ed. Mag.

Sermons. By Samuel Charters, miniſter of Wilton. 4 s. 6 d. boards. Dickſon *and* Creech, *Edinburgh*; Longman, Cadell, *and* Dilly, *London.*

[Reviewed by a Correſpondent]

THE preſent age, which hath been favoured with many well-written books on various branches of knowledge, is alſo to be congratulated on the productions of the Scotch pulpit. Inſtead of barren criticiſms on ſcripture-texts, or the effuſions of a myſtic theology, delivered in a coarſe and ſlovenly ſtyle, which was the moſt of what we knew of preaching before, we have had exhibited, in ſome late publications, reaſonable views of human life, and practicable views of Chriſtian virtue, clothed in proper and elegant language. The juſtneſs, beauty, and ſtrength, both of the matter and of the compoſition, do great honour to the authors. And this improvement in the art of preaching in Scotland is, I apprehend to be aſcribed

to the progreſs of ſentimental philoſophy; a philoſophy that was firſt brought into vogue in this country by the late Dr Hutchieſon of Glaſgow. The ſchool of Butler, Biſhop of Durham, hath never been numerous in England.

A few days ago there came to my hands a volume of ſermons by Mr Charters of Wilton. I have read them all, and ſome of them with care, and muſt account them a valuable addition to the many good ones of which we were already poſſeſſed. One meets indeed here with ſome ſingularities. The unceremonious mode of approach and of taking leave, and the declining to take notice of the occaſion or connection of the text, are particular: but theſe, were they real blemiſhes, which I by no means affirm, are too ſlight to come into conſideration, when we would eſtimate the merit of the ſermons. It is more material to remark a degree of obſcurity, that, to common readers, will be found in ſome places, in the train of thought, and which will oblige them to look back to find the connection of the parts. This ariſes chiefly from the aphoriſtic, detached form of the ſentences, and in part alſo from the ſingular conciſeneſs of the author's manner; a quality in which he excels, and which, in general, gives great beauty and force to his compoſition. Some trifling negligencies in the ſtyle I leave to the minor critics, as proper for the cenſure of thoſe who can look no higher. But the few inconſiderable faults of this writer, which may be eaſily corrected, are loſt in the diſplay of capital excellencies; of which the "ſimplex munditiis" in ſtyle, though very diſtinguiſhed, is the leaſt.

Of theſe excellencies the firſt I mention is Originality. Mr Charters's views are all his own; and ſtrike one, as not only not borrowed from, but not even ſuggeſted by books. The next is, Pathos. There is a fervour in theſe ſermons of a peculiar kind. Unaided either by the high colouring of the imagination, or by any ſuperior harmony in the ſtyle, there is a glow in the author's turn of thought, conveyed in the language of nature, which cannot fail to affect and intereſt an attentive reader. This appears chiefly, where it is chiefly expected, in the devotional ſermons; but is not wanting on the ſubjects that relate to common life. Nothing, however, is more remarkable in this publication than the penetration and preciſion of the views; qualities that conſtitute the higheſt praiſe. Many others have diſplayed great knowledge of human nature in the groſs, that is, in its general principles and propenſities: but what chiefly diſcriminates this author from the greater part of writers even of good ſermons, is, knowledge of the human heart in the detail of its movements, and ſkill in developing the ſecret ſprings of conduct. Opening up mens various ways of thinking and feeling, and ſhowing them to themſelves in points of light which probably they had never reflected on before, but which their conſcience recogniſes the moment they are preſented, marks the hand of a maſter; and this rare talent is every where conſpicuous in theſe Sermons. But there are three on the text, *Owe no man any thing*, which deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed. Not to ſpeak of the beauty of the compoſition, which is great, in the importance of the matter treated, in the nice and comprehenſive obſervation of human conduct that is diſplayed, in the clearneſs and force of expoſition, and in the touching energy with which admonition is conveyed;—in any one of theſe particulars perhaps there are few ſermons wherein theſe three are excelled, and in all of them taken together they are equalled by none even of that great maſter of characteriſtic preaching, Abp Secker.

The mention of Secker leads me to take notice of the difference of manner between him and our author, both of whom have ſucceeded ſo well in two arduous points, the art of characteriſing, and that of compriſing much matter in few words. The Archbiſhop was probably miſled by his exceſſive deference for an excellent rule, "Non ut [lector] intelligere poſſit, ſed ne omnino intelligere non poſſit curandum:" but his extreme minuteneſs, leaving nothing, however obvious, to be ſupplied by the underſtanding of the reader; and his immoderate uſe of the connective particles, which gives to ſtyle but a mean and clumſy appearance, are incompatible with elegance. Mr Charters hath avoided both theſe cauſes of inelegance; and appears to have had, in ſome places, as hath been already hinted, rather too little regard to Quintilian's rule. Every where ſentimental and ſententious, he rejects the cold regularity of the didactic form, and adopts a manner better fitted to aid impreſſion,

preſſion, the detached manner that is uſed in delivering pithy or proverbial ſayings *.

Where examples of the properties above mentioned are ſo numerous, it is difficult to make a ſelection. But as I have ſpoken particularly of the ſermons on juſtice, I beg leave to quote one paſſage, which we find towards the concluſion of the laſt on that ſubject, and which, I apprehend, will ſufficiently illuſtrate the truth of moſt of the obſervations now offered. It is a picture of a fraudulent bankrupt in the riſe and progreſs of his iniquity.

"To be out of debt, is accounted a part of happineſs. Debt haunts the mind, a converſation about juſtice troubles it, the ſight of a creditor fills it with confuſion, even the ſanctuary is not a place of refuge. "The borrower is ſervant to the lender. A life at another man's table is not to be counted for a life," It is mean to flatter the rich. It is humiliating to be the object of pity. To be the ſlave of unattainable deſires is to be deſpicable and wretched. Independence, ſo eſſential to the virtues and pleaſures of a man, independence can only be maintained by ſetting bounds to your deſires, and "owing no man any thing."

A habit of boundleſs expence undermines and deſtroys the virtues even in a mind where they ſeemed to dwell. It becomes difficult and at laſt impoſſible to pay punctually. At the firſt breach of a promiſe compunction is felt. When a man of ſenſibility thinks of the low rate at which his word muſt henceforth paſs, he is little in his own eye: but difficulties prompt him to ſtudy deceiving as an art, and at laſt he lies to his creditors without a bluſh. How deſolate and woful does his mind appear, now that the fence of truth is broken down!

Friendſhip is next diſſolved. He felt it once, and he now inſinuates himſelf by means of ſentiments and profeſſions which were once ſincere. He ſeizes the moment of unſuſpecting affection to enſnare the friends of his youth, borrowing money which he will never pay, and binding them for debts which they muſt hereafter anſwer. At this rate he ſells the virtuous pleaſure of loving and being beloved. He ſwallows up the proviſion of aged parents, and the portion of ſiſters and brethren. The loſs of truth is followed by the loſs of humanity.

His calls are ſtill importunate. He proceeds to fraud, and walks on precipices. Ingenuity, which in a better cauſe might have illuſtrated his name, is exerted to evade the law, to deceive the world, to cover poverty with the appearance of wealth, to ſow unobſerved the ſeed of fraud. Fictitious bills, dark conveyances, myſteries of iniquity — "my ſoul come not thou into their ſecrets, into their aſſembly mine honour be not thou united."

As bankruptcy approaches, temptations thicken. He makes a laſt graſp with his expiring credit, and takes what he can once more from friends and neighbours, from the ignorant and unſuſpicious; purchaſing goods at any rate from all who will truſt him, and ſelling them for immediate payment at an undervalue: thus he ripens all for the day of bankruptcy. Even to a man of principle upon whom guiltleſs calamity has brought that evil day, it is a day of ſore temptation: an effort of virtue is required, to ſtop when he ought, to keep nothing back, to be impartial. To the unprincipled man that day is the triumph of iniquity. He ſurrenders nothing which he can ſecrete, tramples on human laws, and takes God's name in vain. He is partial to his creditors, inſults thoſe whom he

* We may apply and extend here, with regard to the figure aſyndeton, a refined obſervation of Dr Campbell's, in his Philoſophy of Rhetoric, vol. ii p 334. In things conjoined by nature, as cauſe and effect, nature preſents to the external ſenſes the naked facts, leaving it to the underſtanding of the obſerver to ſuggeſt the inviſible agency that connects them: an operation of the mind ſo eaſy and inſtantaneous, that we are hardly conſcious of an effort in performing it. Hence, in deſcribing, by writing or diſcourſe, ſuch objects in conjunction, it will commonly be found ſufficient for preſerving perſpicuity, to copy nature, that is, to place the objects together in their natural order, without the addition of the conjunctions or relatives, that mark the connecting power; and when perſpicuity is ſecured, the difference, in point of force and animation, between uſing and omitting the connective particles, is the greateſt imaginable. Both theſe obſervations hold alſo in delineating ſpiritual or abſtract notions. But as perſpicuity is the firſt law of compoſition, if the connection among the parts of a diſcourſe be not very obvious, even the enfeebling and cumbrous particles, which may be requiſite to ſhow it, cannot be diſpenſed with; eſpecially in proſe compoſitions, deſigned for popular uſe.

he has injured, and piques himſelf on the tranquillity with which he can bear to be called a villain.

One would think that when the buſtle of affairs is over, painful reflections muſt ariſe on friends whom he has deceived, on relations whom he has brought to want, on neighbours whoſe kindneſs he has abuſed, on the ſavings of the frugal labourer which he has ſeized, fruſtrating their hopes of temperate honeſt joy, on the ſtaff of the aged, which he has withdrawn, caſting them upon the cold and ſcanty arm of public charity, on the portion of the poor, the widow, and the fatherleſs, upon which he has laid his ſacrilegious hand. But his heart is hardened againſt the relentings of humanity, he reaps the harveſt he has ſown, and proudly riots on the wages of iniquity.

Fraudulent bankruptcies, which the laws of men cannot puniſh, are intimations of a judgement to come."

Were I to inſtitute a compariſon between the good ſermons that have appeared of late in this country, and thoſe of Mr Charters, dropping other points, I would mention the following probable effect as a touchſtone. Gay, unreflecting people, who ſit down to read the former, will riſe from them pleaſed, by being amuſed: when they ſit down to read the latter, they will riſe, either pleaſed, by being made ſerious, or peeviſh, ſeeking for reaſons of diſguſt. To reliſh them properly, there muſt be both a taſte for natural beauty, and a ſuſceptible honeſt mind. And it is to be feared, that the taſte of the age is too frivolous, and its ſpirit too diſſipated, to give Mr Charters an equal chance of ſucceſs, in the race of popularity, with ſome of his contemporaries.

The India Guide concluded. [p. 87.]

THE following Characters at a Dutch ball, at the Cape of Good Hope, are neither badly conceived nor ill painted.

The Cape of Good Hope is a ſweet pretty place,
But our ſtay was too ſhort all its beauties to trace.
Old Mynheer Van-tyvel, a dealer in cheeſe,
A tradeſman of merit, ambitious to pleaſe,
Moſt courteouſly gave, on our landing, a ball,
To which he politely invited us all;
And really to me 'twas a ludicrous treat,
To ſee ſuch a ſtrange groupe together thus meet.
I cannot inſiſt that the aukward dull animals,
In their perſons and cuſtoms, are abſolute cannibals:
But I think all who've ſeen them will readily own,
They've not the leaſt knowledge of *manners* or *ton*.
To picture the ſet, I juſt briefly will mention
The names of a few who moſt drew my attention.
Firſt, as all theſe are Vans, ſo I'll lead up the van
With our hoſteſs good lady—Youf Vrouw Yankleman:
Then booted and ſpurr'd, and array'd *cap-à-pee*,
Came a ſoldier of note, titled Count Snicker Snee:
With a pipe in his mouth, and a pair of black whiſkers,
He gallantly handed the widow Van-Griſkers:
The widow's allow'd to poſſeſs great attraction,
The Baron bright laurels has gather'd in action.
Now ſtalk'd like a Cyrus the lean dame Van-Blixen,
Whom ſcandal has chriſten'd a paragon'd vixen;
Then tittup'd along with a light mincing ſtep,
Little Youffer Van-Sploom—a well known demirep;
A Jew renegado, from Bergen-op-Zoom,
Was beau to theſe Ladies, on ent'ring the room.
Then heavily roll'd, with his wig and his hat,
A ſpherical Dutchman, o'erwhelm'd by his fat.
To what ſhall I like him? ſay aught, if I can?
To a mountain, I vow, in the ſhape of a man!
Reclin'd on his arm, with an aſthma oppreſs'd,
Hung a globular woman, moſt flauntingly dreſs'd;
To her figure gigantic ſay what can compare?
Why nought but the *Heidelburg ton*, I declare!
While, ſteaming with heat, both appear'd, I inſiſt,
Half veil'd from my ſight, as if plung'd in a miſt!
With a hump on his ſhoulder came Captain Van-Sprack,
Like Atlas, ſupporting the world on his back;
Next Madam Van-Towzer came flirting away
With a young Cicisbeo quite tawdry and gay,
With whom the but recently fled from the Hague
To cornute an old huſband—a terrible plague.
Then Mynheer Smit-Howzen led Youf Vrouw Van Slaughter,
With a cub of a ſon, and a fright of a daughter.

With

With Mynheer Van-Sprawken came Mie-
Vrow Van-Trump,
An aged old hag, who had on a cork rump.
With Mynheer Van-Dondermans—— Youf
Vrouw Van-Spoke
Came daudling in with the *Ducheſs's poke.*
There were two Miſs Hoof-Sneekens, who laughably ape
Engliſh faſhions, as yearly they paſs by the Cape;
With the eldeſt, her beauty doth chiefly conſiſt
In a vulgar red cheek and a tub-thumping fiſt;
Whilſt the youngeſt diſplays a broad naked brown breaſt,
With a pair of ſtout arms fit a mop on to reſt;
And yet theſe two frights are the *Belles* of the place!
Lord! *Dutch Beaux* are, at beſt, but a *Hottentot race!*
With libations of gin, and tobacco's vile fumes,
They drank and they ſmoak'd us away from the rooms;
And if e'er I repair to their balls any more,
May I choak and be poiſon'd a thouſand times o'er!
The band play'd away to enliven the Vans;
Like tinkers in concert, all rattling their pans.
A fidler, from Naples, all cover'd with lace,
In ſcraping his fiddle, diſtorted his face;
A meagre ſtarv'd Frenchman his flute ſeem'd to lick
Like a monkey miſchievouſly biting a ſtick;
A Swiſs mouth'd away at a fife of harſh tone,
Like a cur that is greedily gnawing a bone.
But as Orpheus once found, when he fiddled to brutes,
Their motion to muſic moſt awkwardly ſuits;
So the Vrouws, in a minuet, ſolemnly prance
Like a bear, at a fair, that is tutor'd to dance:
As a whale in ſhoal water flaps hard to get out,
Mynheer, in cotillon, thus flounders about.
I'm ſure you would laugh at their compliments queer, [*beer?*
Of *hoe vaart ye Mevrouw?* or *hoe vart ye Mynheer, ik blen bly uvan avond le vind,*
O! Lord, where a ryhme to this line ſhall I find?
So much was I ſhock'd by ſuch diſſonant ſtrain,
Hark! chaos, ſaid I, is returning again;
Ye powers protect me! avert the harſh ſound,
And ſhield my chaſte ear from each gutt'ral's deep wound!
In vain I attempted to utter a few,
I thought, on my word, a lock-jaw would enſue!
Perhaps, when the Lombards all Europe laid waſte,
Then Dutch was a language of prevalent taſte,
But how in an age where we daily refine,
It yet boaſts exiſtence, I ne'er can divine!
O! could you ſurvey all the women a-clacking,
Tough walnuts you'd think with their teeth they were cracking.
At table the men could you view in debate,
You'd think they were going to ſpit in your plate;
For many a guttural's thorough baſs note,
Like the bone of a fiſh, ſeems to ſtick in their throat.
O! fancy them, mother, uniting their forces,
And ſtamping their feet like a ſtring of dray horſes;
All ſmoaking their pipes, round the circle they take,
He dances the beſt who the floor moſt can ſhake!
Dear ſhade of great Hogarth, ariſe, and retouch,
With thy accurate hand, this aſſembly of Dutch;
O! Genius lamented! thy pencil alone
Can picture the groupe as it ought to be ſhewn.

We ſhall conclude our extracts with Miſs Brittle's deſcription and delineation of the manners of ſociety at Madras.

At Madras we arriv'd in the height of confuſion,
A ſcene all occaſion'd by Hyder's intruſion;
A Goth-like invader! who doth us all keep
Penn'd up in a fort, like a ſcar'd flock of ſheep;
With ſo ſlender a fare, that I ſeldom do meet
Scarce with any thing freſh at a table to eat;
And as it is fix'd we're to ſail very ſoon,
To get out of the way of the change of monſoon,
A line or two, therefore, I'll haſtily ſcrawl,
As a note, "we're thus far on our way to Bengal."
From thence, in another light letter I'll ſtate
Whate'er I moſt worthy may deem to relate:
For there's an emporium of further delight
To challenge my muſe to produce a new flight,
As a ſubject extenſive, facetious, and new,
Calcutta, I'm told, will preſent to my view.
With mirth and good humour then next will I trace
The cuſtoms, the manners, the folks of that place;
But cruſh'd be my verſe, if I ſhould ever ſend
One line that can merit or friendſhip offend!
One line that by ſatire or wit miſapplied,
Can render my feelings or conduct decried!
A generous boſom will ever diſdain
To wound in the dark, or to virtue give pain;
So cruel a triumph let baſeneſs purſue,
Who cowardly ſtabs whilſt ſecreted from view!

Be

Be mine the bright line to keep honour in
sight,
Nor bluſh, with my name, to avow what I
write!
Tho' in muſical cadence its numbers may
flow
Accurs'd be the ſtrain if it brings me a foe;
For O! the ambition which glows in my
breaſt
Is, by pleaſing my reader,—myſelf to be bleſt!
We were ſcarce on the beach, when a troop
of young beaux
Swarm'd around to conduct us to take ſome
repoſe,
Which all of us wanted, as none had lain
down
Since firſt we deſcried from our cabins the
town:
They handed us each to a *fly pallankeen*,
The neateſt conveyance I ever had ſeen:
So delighted I was with this vehicle clever,
I declare I, with pleaſure, could ride in it
ever;
Four men on their ſhoulders along with it run,
Whilſt one at its ſide keeps us free from the
ſun.
Broad-ſhoulder'd Paddy, from Dublin, can
ne'er
For eaſe and for pacing with *bearers** com-
pare;
For whilſt from his chair oft you're nearly
flung out,
With motionleſs ſpeed here you're jaunted
about;
But Paddy, in harneſs, keeps prancing along,
Then opens a road with his poles thro' the
throng,
And always uneaſily *hoofs* it as ſlow
As a ſtate-carriage horſe, leſs for uſe than for
ſhew.
In triumph they thus bore us into the Fort,
In ſtate full as much as it going to Court.
With a crowd of ſtrange figures all leading
the way,
Who pompouſly ſung out our praiſes for pay,
And pleaſantly choak'd us with columns of
duſt,
As a tax upon greatneſs, which ſwallow we
muſt.
Cleopatra herſelf was not better attended
In her elegant barge, when the Nile ſhe de-
ſcended:
In ſhort, to a Lady's they rapidly ſped,
Who begg'd at her houſe we would each
take a bed;
A generous dame! whoſe benevolent will
Is her houſe with good company ever to fill.
We ſcarce had been ſeated, ere firſt we were
told
To prepare to comply with an etiquette old,
To receive the whole town in our neweſt
attire,
And *ſit up in form* that they might us admire;
To be ogled by all ſuch who choſe to profeſs
That their joy at our landing they could not
expreſs.
I own I recoil'd at a practice ſo vile,
And daily propos'd to poſtp ne it a while;
But our friend Mrs Shrivel, with whom we
reſide,
Inſiſted we ne'er could it well ſet aſide;
That years forty four ſhe had always been
here,
And never had known it omitted a year.
We therefore prepar'd with the *ton* to comply,
All except Tabby Prudence, who, yielding a
ſigh,
Declar'd that ſuch liberties led to encroach,
That therefore no man ſhould her perſon ap-
proach.
Mrs Shrivel obſerv'd, "The whole buſineſs,
I vow,
Juſt conſiſts in a formal kiſs, curtſy, and
bow;
Scarce a word is exchang'd, for ſo ſilent the
men,
You'd think them a parcel of ſheep in a pen.
Sometimes (tho' but rarely) they courage
will gather,
If pouring with rain, to aver, 'tis bad wea-
ther!
Or wiſely obſerve, 'tis a charming fine night!
If the moon (ſtrange to tell!) ſhould but
deign to ſhine bright.
An old Indian ſometimes will in raptures ex-
claim,
A delectable Tit! Pray, Ma'am, what is her
name?
And he makes on her quickly—a potent at-
tack,
By off'ring himſelf— and *pagodas two tuck*.
With a right in two years to go home for her
health,
And plan out a fund to ſink part of his
wealth;
Or by firſt, ſecond, third, of ſame tenor
and date,
Give him notice ſhe yearly improves his
eſtate:
And to make it more binding, he offers to
write,
That as faſt as ſhe draws—he will honour at
ſight;
Then pulls from his pocket a ſettlement
blank
To dub her a Lady of fortune and rank;
And as Celia's too wiſe at ſuch terms to be
nettled,
Before the next ſun their whole courtſhip's
oft ſettled."
Here Prudence replied, with an old-maidiſh
joke,
"Twas a ſhame thus to purchaſe—*a pig in a
poke!*

* *The epithet uſually applied to pallankeen ſer-
vants.*

On the ev'ning appointed, three powder'd gay beaux
Buzz'd around us, and greatly admired our cloaths;
Then prettily gave us, for light recreation,
Some balderdath, whipt-fillabub converſation.
One, a pert jemmy jeſſamy tinſel'd young man,
With ardour extoll'd the deſign of my fan;
'Twas Sappho deſerted by Phaon, her ſwain,
With her heels in the air, courting death in the main.
Another, by flattery equally mov'd,
The lace of my tucker as highly approv'd:
"Right beautiful Point, by the Gods, I aver!"
Not to—for 'tis delicate Bruſſels, gay Sir!
"Your cap (ſays a third), dear Miſs, I proteſt,
By all that is tender! I like it the beſt;
So waving the feathers! ſo graceful and warm,
So taſtily rais'd on a frizzl'd platform!
So lofily pinn'd, that it proudly aſſumes
The ſhape of an helmet embelliſh'd with plumes!
By the fine arts I ſwear, it can never eſcape
Our notice, dear girl, thy moſt elegant ſhape!
Thoſe lambent planets with Phœbus's fire,
Thy beauty unconſcious which kindles deſire."
Cruſh went my fan, with a conq'ring ſmile?
Away went his tongue in my praiſes awhile?
And as flattery ſoftens the hardeſt of hearts,
Our beaux ſeem'd determin'd to play well their parts;
Each branch of our dreſs they'd alternately praiſe,
Gowns, fringes, and petticoats, flounces and ſtays:
My *ſhift de la Reine* is a dreſs they adore,
My *Poloniaiſe* pleaſes, tho' long ſince a *bore*;
But chiefly my dove-colour'd new-faſhion'd ſandals
Are fancied by all—but a few taſteleſs Vandals.

* * * * * *

Our beaux now preſented each perſon who came,
And begg'd that to us they their names might proclaim.
A ſalute then enſu'd, after which they retir'd,
And others embrac'd us, as *cuſtom* requir'd.
Perch'd prim on a couch, in my French lute-ſtring gown,
Three tedious long nights was I kiſs'd by the town.
Deteſted vile cuſtom! I ne'er ſhall forget
The men's ſhining faces, all cover'd with ſweat;
Nor the fumes of rich garlick, and ſtench of *chiroots* *,
Which poiſon'd the mouths of two old filthy brutes;

* *Dried leaves of tobacco tightly compreſſed into ſmall oblong tubes, and generally ſmoaked in India.*

'Twill be ſhortly aboliſh'd, the Ladies here truſt,
For of cuſtoms moſt horrid 'tis ſurely the worſt!
To be gaz'd at and view'd like a lot at a ſale!
O! barbarous race, where ſuch cuſtoms prevail!
Where the eye of intruſion can modeſtly daſh!
Where the rod of bold ſcandal our characters laſh!
O! beauty and innocence, who can thee ſhield?
To the mandates of faſhion muſt decency yield?
Muſt beauty's ſoft charms be, *in form*, thus paraded?
Muſt our tender young frames be by rude hands invaded?
Muſt the coarſe briſtly beard of an athletic race
Tear the ſkin from a virgin's fair delicate face?
Muſt thoſe fruits which, in raptures, fond lovers ſhould reap,
Be cull'd thus beforehand, and thus be held cheap?
Forbid it, politeneſs! forbid it with haſte,
And baniſh a cuſtom ſo vilely unchaſte!
A ſoldier of merit, who 'as often diſplay'd
His valour and conduct in battle array'd,
I lately attempted to prettily rally
On his brilliant ſucceſſes againſt Hyder Ally;
I reminded him gently of Xenophon's feat,
Who with ten thouſand Greeks made a noble retreat;
Of Marathon's fight, where ſuch valour was ſhewn,
That a handful of Greeks beat a nation alone;
And I told him quick marches were made by the Huns,
As they ſcamper'd along unincumber'd with guns;
From which I deduc'd he did right, when 'twas dark,
To drown, *à la hâte*, his artillery park,
As Burgoyne had recently ſtarted a notion
That cannon retarded an army in motion.
I told him, I knew the whole *art militaire*,
And offer'd to teach him *la belle petite guerre*;
That if I but once could be quite *à portee*,
I'd ſtand forth myſelf in the fight of the day.
At firſt he pretended to feel himſelf hurt,
And ſullkily term'd me a light-headed flirt;
But I told him, the various rights of our ſex
Admit that we ſometimes our neighbours may vex;
And e'er we yet fail, I will make him declare,
That the brave never cheriſh ill-will to the fair.
With any thing further reſpecting Madras
I will not at preſent your patience harraſs;
For I muſt in a little my letter leave off,
To repair to the toilet to put on my *coiff*.

PRO-

PROLOGUE *to the* HEIRESS.

Written by the Rt Hon R. FITZPATRICK.
Spoken by Mr KING.

AS ſprightly ſun-beams gild the face of day,
When low'ring tempeſts calmly glide away;
So when the poet's dark horizon clears,
Array'd in ſmiles, the Epilogue appears.
She of that houſe the lively emblem ſtill,
Whoſe brilliant ſpeakers ſtart what themes they will;
Still varying topicks for her ſportive rhymes,
From all the follies of theſe *fruitful* times;
Uncheck'd by forms, with flippant hand may cull.
Prologues, *like Peers*, by privilege are dull.
In ſolemn ſtrain addreſs th' aſſembled pit,
The legal judges of dramatic wit,
Confining ſtill, with dignify'd decorum,
Their obſervations—to the play before'em.

Now when each bachelor a help-mate lacks,
(That ſweet exemption from a *double tax*),
When laws are fram'd with a benignant plan
Of light'ning *burdens* on the married man,
And Hymen adds one ſolid comfort more,
To all thoſe comforts he conferr'd before;
To ſmooth the rough laborious road to fame,
Our Bard has choſen—an *alluring name*.
As wealth in wedlock oft is known to hide
The imperfections of a homely bride,
This tempting title, he perhaps expects,
May heighten beauties—and conceal defects:
Thus ſixty's wrinkles view'd through Fortune's glaſs,
The roſy dimples of ſixteen ſurpaſs:
The modern ſuitor graſps his fair-one's hand,
O'erlooks her perſon, and adores—*her land*;
Leers on her houſes with an *ogling eye*,
O'er her rich acres heaves an *am'rous* ſigh,
His *heartfelt* pangs through groves of—*timber* vents,
And runs diſtracted for—*her three per cents.*

Will thus the poet's mimic Heireſs find,
The bridegroom critic to *her* failings blind,
Who claims, alas! his nicer taſte to hit,
The lady's portion paid in *Sterling* wit?
On your decrees, to fix her future fate,
Depends our *Heireſs* for her whole eſtate:
Rich in your ſmiles, ſhe charms th' admiring town;
A very *bankrupt*, ſhould you chance to frown:
O may a verdict, giv'n in your applauſe,
Pronounce the proſp'rous iſſue of her cauſe,
Confirm the name an anxious parent gave her,
And prove her HEIRESS of—the *Public favour*.

EPILOGUE. *Spoken by Miſs* FARREN.

THE Comic Muſe, who here erects her ſhrine,
To *court your* offerings, and *accepts* of mine,
Sends me to ſtate an anxious author's plea,
And wait with humble hope this Court's decree.
By no prerogative will ſhe decide, [ſides.
She vows an Engliſh jury is her pride.
Then for our HEIRESS—forc'd from fineries
That lately fann'd her plumes in Berkeley
Will ſhe be *helpleſs* in her *new* reſort, [ſquare
And find no friends—about the Inns of Court
Sages, be candid—tho' you hate a knave,
Sure, for *example*, you'll a *Rightly* ſave
Be kind for once, ye *clerks*—ye ſportive Sirs,
Who haunt our Theatres in boots and ſpurs,
So may you ſafely preſs your nightly hobby,
Run the whole ring—and *end* it in the lobby.
Lovers of *truth*, be kind, and own that here,
That love is ſtrain'd as far as it will bear.
Poets may write—*Philoſophers* may dream—
But would the *world* bear truth in the extreme?
What, not one *Blandiſh* left behind! not one!
Poets are mute, and painters all undone:
Where are thoſe charms that nature's term ſurvive,
The maiden bloom that glows at *forty five?*
Truth takes the pencil—*wrinkle*—*freckle*—*ſquint*,
The whole's transform'd—the devil's in't,
Dimples turn ſcars, the ſmile becomes a ſcowl
The hair the ivy buſh, the face the owl.

But ſhall an *author* mock the flatterer's pow'r!
Oh, might you all be *Blandiſhes* this hour!
Then would the candid jurors of the pit,
Grant their mild paſſport to the realms of wit;
Then would I mount the car where oft I ride,
And place the favour'd culprit by my ſide.
To aid our flight—one faſhionable hint—
See my authority—a Morning Print—
"We learn"—obſerve it, ladies—"France's Queen
Loves, like our own, a heart-directed ſcene:
And while each thought ſhe weighs, each beauty ſcans, [fans"
"Breaks, in one night's applauſe, a ſcore of
[*Beating her fan againſt her hand.*
Adopt the mode, ye belles—ſo end my prattle,
And ſhew how you'll out-do a Bourbon rattle.

Elegant SONG *in the Comedy of the* HEIRESS. *Adapted to an air of* Paiſiello's.

FOR tenderneſs faſhion'd, in life's early day,
A parent's ſoft ſorrows, to mine led the way:
The leſſon of pity was caught from her eye,
And e'er I knew language, I ſpoke with a ſigh.

The nightingale plunder'd the mate-widow'd Dove,
The warbled complaint of the ſuffering grove;
To youth, as it ripen'd, gave ſentiment new:
The object ſtill changing, the ſympathy true.

Soft embers of paſſions yet reſt in their glow;
A warmth of more pain may this breaſt never know!
Or if too indulgent the bleſſing I claim,
Let the ſpark drop from reaſon, that wakens the flame.

The

The Way to LONG LIFE *and* HAPPINESS: *or, The Old* SHEPHERD'S *Advice.*

THO' time has ſtol'n my robe of youth,
And trac'd my temples with his tooth;
Has left my locks but thinly ſown,
And made them hoary as his own:
My hands have ſtrength my crook to hold;
My feet to tend my flock to fold:
And life's cold winter ſtill can bring
Enlivening pleaſures, like its ſpring.
At rural feaſts ſometimes I'm found,
Delighted drink the tabor's ſound,
Or trill a lay, or tune a reed,
And win from other ſwains the meed.
Thus cloudleſs all my minutes flow,
Thus gently down the hill I go;
While every ſhepherd, lad, and laſs,
Unite to bleſs me as I paſs:
And when at laſt theſe eyes ſhall cloſe,
And I in earth's ſoft lap repoſe,
Each choiceſt flower will cull, and ſhed,
To deck the turf that crowns my head.
Would ye, with thought compos'd and clear,
Meet all the changes of the year;
Enjoy the preſent hour, and caſt
A look of pleaſure on the paſt;
And Heaven's beſt boon of health prolong;
Ye village youths, attend my ſong.
Oh! of the myrtle bowers beware,
Where flaunt in gaudes the wanton fair;
Their breath will nip your early bloom,
Their glance, infectious, ſeal your doom:
For know, diſeaſe with haſty pace
Will ſeize you, when you quit the place,
And drag you to the dreary cell,
Where pain, remorſe, and horror dwell.
When larks at peep of dawn ariſe,
And hail with chearful notes the ſkies;
Freſh o'er the dewy valley ſweep,
Or range the wood, or climb the ſteep;
Nor let dull ſloth your vigour foil,
Nor dread a ſkin embrown'd by toil.
How grateful proves to labouring ſwains,
At noon, the ſtore their ſcrip contains!
What joys, unknown to wealth, they feel,
At eve, from coarſe, but wholeſome meal.
A cautious lip to cups apply,
With nut-brown liquor mantling high;
Deep draughts, that mirth a while diſpenſe,
Soon dim the eye, and drown the ſenſe,
Shake the whole frame, and by degrees
Bring nerveleſs arms, and palſied knees.
More ſweets the ſober ſtreamlet yields,
That, gurgling through the verdant fields,
Invites the hind to dip his cruſe,
Than bowls of blood-inflaming juice.
Leave not the breaſt to cares a prey,
Drive from your cot the brood away:
If rivers, ſwell'd by ſudden rains,
O'er-top their bounds, and flood the plains,
Or raging Dog-ſtar ſcorch the mead,
On which your flocks are wont to feed;
Or rot your bleating charge invade;
Or mildew blaſt the riſing blade;
Expecting whiter days, deſpiſe
A waſte of breath in fruitleſs ſighs:
Your loſs to eaſe, the times to mend,
On Heaven and Induſtry depend.
Let all your parents toil and pain
Deep graven in your mind remain;
Solace their years, and watch intent
Their ſmalleſt wiſhes to prevent:
Pay to your friends attention due;
Each to the maid he loves, be true;
The ſtranger friendleſs, old, and poor,
Turn not unkindly from your door;
But ſpare to want, at Pity's call,
Some portion of your little all:
To lips by thirſt's fierce ardour dry,
Cool, chearing beverage ſupply;
On pining hunger food beſtow,
And add ſoft words to ſoothe his woe;
When you a wilder'd trav'ller meet,
Guide to the road his erring feet,
Or to your roof, if late, invite,
And ſhield him from the damps of night.
To ſtill the voice of anguiſh, try
To wipe the tear from ſorrow's eye;
And every good, you can, impart
With ready hand, and glowing heart:
So ſhall ye paſs, from manhood's ſtage,
Smoothly, like me, the ſlope of age;
Then from the pleaſing journey reſt,
In peaceful ſleep, belov'd and bleſt.
Thus ſung the ſage; the liſtening youth
Applaud the ſtrains, and own their truth.

S. D.

The following Lines, which are taken from *Poems by William Cooper, of the Inner Temple, Eſq;* [p. 25.] place the Commemoration of Handel in a new light; and for one more juſt, we may perhaps ſearch Dr Burney's Hiſtory in vain. *Gent. Mag.*

MAN praiſes man. Deſert in arts or arms
Wins public honour; and ten thouſand ſit
Patiently preſent at a ſacred ſong,
Commemoration mad; content to hear
(Oh wonderful effect of Muſic's power!)
Meſſiah's eulogy for Handel's ſake.
But leſs, methinks, than ſacrilege might ſerve——
(For was it leſs? What Heathen would have dared
To ſtrip Jove's ſtatue of his oaken wreath,
And hang it up in honour of a man?)
Much leſs might ſerve, when all that we deſign
Is but to gratify an itching ear,
And give the day to a muſician's praiſe.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

UNITED PROVINCES.

Lillo, Feb. 24. On the 12th his Imperial Majeſty's commiſſioners arrived here; they immediately went to the Commandant's houſe, where they were received by their Highneſſes commiſſioners, who, after having delivered the keys to the Imperial commiſſioners, cauſed a bell to be rung; all the inhabitants upon this aſſembled on the parade, and were relieved from the oaths formerly taken to the States General; after this the arms belonging to the Republic were taken away. In the afternoon the Dutch garriſon, conſiſting of 200 men, marched out of the fort, and took the road towards Bergen-op Zoom. The judges, the legates, and other perſons in civil employments, took ſhipping with their families, the inhabitants accompanying them to the ſhore, and teſtifying by their tears how afflicting this ſeparation was. A detachment of the regiment of Clairfaix entered Lillo on the 13th, mounted guard, and diſplayed the colours of the Imperial army; and on ringing the bell, all the inhabitants aſſembled again, where the procurator-general adminiſtered to them an oath of ſubmiſſion to his Apoſtolic Majeſty. Before night the fort of Liefhenſhock, the Kruiſchans, and Fort Frederick Henry, were evacuated in the ſame manner, and delivered into the poſſeſſion of the Imperial commiſſioners.

Hague, March 1. The States of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, who are adjourned to the 15th inſt. have iſſued out a proclamation, by which all inhabitants of theſe provinces are ſtrictly and expreſsly forbid, in caſes of public rejoicing, or on any other occaſion whatever, hoiſting up flags on the tops of ſteeples, &c. as the practice has been hitherto. It alſo prohibits the wearing or ſelling of any badge of diſtinction, eſpecially of orange-coloured ribbons, &c. as this colour not being ſanctioned by authority, it can only be worn from a ſpirit of party, which has already occaſioned too much confuſion to be tolerated any longer. The delinquents are threatened with the high indignation of their Noble Mightineſſes, and declared liable to impriſonment, in the firſt inſtance, corporal puniſhment, and even death, as voluntary diſturbers of the public peace and tranquillity. The proclamation concludes with a promiſe of impunity to all ſuch accomplices as will turn informers, and declares all thoſe who will neglect to appriſe government of ſuch miſdeeds as may come to their knowledge, guilty of miſpriſion, and puniſhable by the laws, as if they had been parties concerned.

On the 15th of March the States aſſembled at the Hague, and immediately adjourned the meeting till the following day, for the purpoſe of affording an opportunity of impreſſing the minds of the people with an idea of the majeſty of their ſovereign aſſembly: In conſequence the garriſon was ordered to range themſelves, being clothed in their beſt uniforms, before the door of the Hall of the States. This done, the Preſident ordered the Stadtholderian gate to be opened, and a piquet of grenadiers immediately advanced to execute that command. On this occaſion between 3000 and 4000 people were aſſembled, appearing to be ſtrongly diſpoſed to tumultuous behaviour; but they were deterred from proceeding to acts of violence by the firm behaviour of the troops, who had their bayonets fixed. The door remained open during the ſitting of the ſenate, and the meeting was diſſolved without any tumult. But the ſame good order was not maintained on the 17th; the corps of Burghers, raiſed to ſupport the cauſe of the Prince, had ſecretly contrived to oppoſe the fatal door being opened, and particularly to prevent any of the members paſſing by that avenue. When the aſſembly was preparing to adjourn, and when M. de Gyzelaar, the penſioner of Dordrecht, was proceeding in his coach towards the gate, two deſperate perſons, ſupported by fifteen or ſixteen adherents, interrupted him, diſcharging againſt him the moſt opprobrious execrations. A dreadful maſſacre was expected to be the conſequence; but the troops performed their duty without proceeding to extremities, and a company of cavalry ruſhed upon the fanatics, ſword in hand, and ſecured one of them, but the other eſcaped; the reſt of the orange party then diſperſed. The miſerable victim to his enthuſiaſm for the Stadtholderian gate was conducted to priſon. M. de Gyzelaar paſſed in his coach through the gate, and may boaſt of having firſt made free that famous paſſage.

Utrecht, March 31. The States of this province have addreſſed the following letter to the town of Wykte Duurſtede:

"The noble powers, the States of this province,

province, having been informed that ſeveral members of the regency of Wyk-te Duurſtede have been diſmiſſed from their places, and others appointed in their room, have agreed to the following reſolution, which we judge it meet to tranſmit to you immediately.

Extract from the Reſolutions of their Noble Powers, the States of Utrecht, March 29.

The States of the province of Utrecht, after due deliberation, have unanimouſly agreed, that the diſmiſſion of Meſſ. Verbel, Fryhenius, Bruin, Van Mierloo, Van Bren, de Ruyter, and the election of other members in their room, is null and void; and have reſolved to maintain the ſaid regents in their reſpective privileges until Oct. 30. to forbid any perſons appointed in their places from exerciſing the office of magiſtracy, under pain of their high diſpleaſure; and have charged Meſſ. Van Cockengen, Van Sterhenburgh, Van Wolphaarſdyke, Van Amerougen, Van Schonauwen, Van Zuiſen, the two Burgomaſters regents of the city of Utrecht, and the firſt Burgomaſter of Amerfoort, to act in concert with the commiſſioners named by the provincial court, ſo that proper meaſures may be taken to carry into execution the intention of their noble powers.

GERMANY.

Vienna. On the 5th of March, in the forenoon, the Comte de Waſſenaar, and the Baron de Lyden, deputies from their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, had their audience of leave of his Imperial and Royal Majeſty. The following is the ſpeech which the ſaid deputies pronounced on this occaſion:

"Sire, The miſſion with which we had the honour to be inveſted to your Imperial and Royal Majeſty having had its entire effect, by the ſo much deſired re eſtabliſhment of union and peace between your Imperial and Royal Majeſty and the Republic, their High Mightineſſes have judged proper to terminate it.

This event gives new energy to the ſentiments of the veneration of their High Mightineſſes for your Imperial and Royal Majeſty, of which we have been the principal inſtruments.

Theſe ſentiments, ever invariable, are now become indiſſoluble by the new connections which the Republic eſteems itſelf happy in having contracted with your Imperial and Royal Majeſty. We eſteem ourſelves equally happy to be able to offer the homage of it to your Imperial Majeſty; and the moſt entire confirmation of it will be found in the letter which we have the honour to deliver to your Imperial Majeſty on the part of their High Mightineſſes.

Nothing remains for us but to offer to your Imperial Majeſty our humble acknowledgements for the reception with which you have deigned to honour our miſſion, as well as our moſt profound reſpect and that lively ſenſibility which the honour of approaching you always inſpires.

May the glorious reign of your Imperial Majeſty, deſtined to promote the happineſs of your people, continue ever to furniſh renown to the moſt legitimate ſubjects, and to perpetuate your great and auguſt name! May the age of Joſeph II. like thoſe of Titus, Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, his predeceſſors in the Roman empire, ever form an epoch in the records of the world, as that of the humanity, peace, and happineſs of mankind!"

His Imperial Majeſty returned an anſwer nearly in the following terms:

"Gentlemen, You may aſſure their High Mightineſſes that I am equally rejoiced that the difficulties which had ariſen are arranged: this muſt be for the advantage of both nations, the more ſo as thoſe differences being adjuſted once for all, the ancient connection which ſo many years ſubſiſted between the two ſtates cannot be any longer interrupted. In fine, Gentlemen, I am charmed in making you this acknowledgement; and this miſſion cannot fail to be agreeable to you, as it hath ſerved as a baſis for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace."

WEST INDIES.

Roſeau, in Dominica, Dec. 8. 1785. The runaway negroes, amounting to between four and five hundred, are committing moſt dreadful depredations on the eſtates in the interior part of this iſland; killing white people and negroes, burning and plundering houſes, and deſtroying every thing that comes in their way. Accounts are received of their having come down to the fine eſtate of Roſalie, killed four white people and one negro woman, and wounded ſeveral others. They then carried off as much rum and ſugar as they could, burnt the reſt, and ſet fire to all the buildings, ſtores, &c. leaving an eſtate in point of buildings the firſt in the

iſland, a heap of ruins. This evil is a legacy left the iſland by the French, who ſupplied theſe miſcreants with arms, and gave them every encouragement in their power. They have taken different poſitions in this mountainous ſtrong country, have formed ſeparate encampments, and elected chiefs; and from thence ſend down ſmall parties, who have attacked the eſtates, drove away the cattle, and done every miſchief in their power. The meaſures adopted for the ſuppreſſion of theſe villains are as follow, viz. Four parties of his Majeſty's 30th regiment, about 50 of the iſland militia, and 200 negroes completely armed, the whole equally divided, and three of the parties commanded each by an officer of the 30th regiment, and the other party by Mr Young, formerly a colonel in the Carolina militia. They are to form different encampments at equal diſtances from each other, from the ſouthern to the northern extremities of the iſland; and are to ſend ſtrong patroles from camp to camp, to keep up a conſtant communication with each other, and for the purpoſe of cutting off all ſupplies from the inſurgents. And in caſe an opportunity ſhould offer of ſtriking a blow with ſucceſs, the whole may be eaſily collected on one ſpot. The legiſlature have offered great rewards to whoever kills any of thoſe miſcreants.

ENGLAND.

On Wedneſday, March 8. came on, at Chelmsford, the aſſizes for Eſſex; when the celebrated Frances Davis was tried before the Hon. Mr Juſtice Aſhhurſt, for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of Agnes Bennet, who keeps the ſign of the Three Rabbits, a public houſe between Ilford and Stratford, and ſtealing therein 163 guineas, a bill of exchange for 400l. and ſeveral bank notes, amounting to 2250l. the property of John Wrigglesworth.

By the evidence it appeared, that this woman committed the above robbery in the following extraordinary manner:—She diſguiſed herſelf by wearing man's apparel, and came to the above public-houſe enquiring for lodging, pretending to be going to town. Being told that ſhe could have one, ſhe, that evening, ingratiated herſelf into the company of Mr Wrigglesworth, who is a capital grazier, and was going to Smithfield market next morning, to whom ſhe aſſumed the character of a horſe-dealer. During their converſation, which this lady and Mr Wrigglesworth enjoyed over a pipe, ſhe *ſmoked* the contents of Mr W.'s canvas bag. After ſupper, each retired to a ſeparate room, and early in the morning the horſe-dealer opened the chamber-door of Mr W. whom ſhe caught napping, and taking his breeches from under his head, marched away with the ſum above mentioned.

The next day ſhe paid a viſit to a female acquaintance in his Majeſty's gaol of Newgate, gave her a guinea, a pair of ſilver buckles, and boaſted of the exploit. This woman being a favourite of a gentleman whoſe office is to lay violent hands on ſuch ingenious perſons, ſhe communicated the matter to him, and Mrs Davis was, the next day, apprehended in the Borough, with ſomething more than 900l. on her, the remainder having never been recovered. She being poſitively ſworn to by Mr W. and the people of the houſe, although ſo diſguiſed, was found *guilty*; and the judge immediately paſſed ſentence of death on her, obſerving, that from the art and addreſs with which the robbery was planned and completed, he did not think it could have been her firſt offence; (indeed he well knew it was not, for ſhe had been the terror of that country for ſome years back), and therefore adviſed her not to flatter herſelf, that, in this caſe, her ſex could afford her any protection.

After ſentence, ſhe refuſed to make any diſcovery of the remaining 350l.

An action on the ſtatute of uſury, Wynk againſt Fenn, was lately determined. The caſe of the tranſaction was, that the defendant, at Sudbury, in Suffolk, diſcounted a bill of exchange for the plaintiff, of 160l. at twenty-ſeven days date, drawn by the brother of the plaintiff, on a perſon in London. The money was paid, part in caſh, part in nine guinea notes of the defendant, who belongs to the bank of Sudbury, and part by a draft of the defendant. The ſum charged by the defendant to plaintiff *for diſcounting*, &c. was admitted to be more than 5 per cent. But Mr Cowper, his counſel, inſiſted, that it muſt appear the money was not uſuriouſly taken; there were a variety of legal charges which conſtituted the ſum which exceeded that rate, and called a witneſs, who proved it to be the uſual and conſtant cuſtom in the banking trade in Sudbury, on diſcounting

ing bills, to take at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, up to the day the bill becomes due; and alſo a quarter or a half per cent. *commiſſion*, on all country bills, according to the diſtance, which was for the trouble neceſſarily attendant on diſcounting them. This commiſſion has no regard to the time the bill has to run, being equal on all, according to their value and diſtance of place where payable. But if a bill is payable within ten days, no diſcount is taken, only the commiſſion.

Mr Erſkine, for the plaintiff, contended, that this was an illegal and unjuſt cuſtom, and only a colour for uſury; and that, though this was in itſelf of ſmall moment, if extended to large ſums, it would be of importance, and might often, if the bills were of ſhort date, exceed the intereſt.

Mr Juſtice Buller.—Uſury conſiſts in taking more than 5 per cent. per annum *for the loan of money*. The queſtion is then, if the defendant has taken more than 5 per cent. *for the loan of money*. His charge is for *diſcounting, et cætera*. What does *&c.* mean? If any ſhift or contrivance was meant to be made uſe of to evade the ſtatute, and the money is taken *for the loan*, the tranſaction muſt be conſidered to be uſurious; but the defence is, that there is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, and if ſo, the defendant is entitled to receive it. It is a charge for the trouble in his buſineſs. If he makes an extravagant charge, the jury will ſee it as a mere pretence, and he ſhall not avail himſelf of it. Here he has trouble, which by the cuſtom he ought to be paid for. If the charge is reaſonable, there is no colour to ſay he is guilty of uſury; if otherwiſe, he is.—Verdict for the defendant.

On Monday March 13. Mr Hughſon from the exchequer preſented to the Houſe of Commons, an account of money paid by his Majeſty or the public, for, or in reſpect of the conviction, confinement, employment, and maintenance of perſons convicted of felonies, or miſdemeanors, ſince the 1ſt of January 1775, ſpecifying the total of the ſums expended in each year, as far as the ſame can be made up; the title was read, and the account ordered to lie on the table.

From the totals of the above account the expenditure is as follows:

To D. Campbell, Eſq;	L. 126,922	4	2
To Sheriffs for conviction,	92,850	0	0
Carried forward,	L. 219,772	4	2
Brought forward,	L. 219,772	4	2
To G. Moor, for tranſporting of felons,	1,512	17	6
To J. Kirby, of Wood-ſtreet Compter, for taking care of convicts,	1,119	9	5
To A. Calvert, for tranſporting felons,	286	14	0
To T. Cotton, Eſq; for cloathing convicts, and other expences at Plymouth,	803	2	7
Total from 1775 to 1786,	L. 223,484	7	8

Wedneſday, March 22. The Sheriffs of London, accompanied by the City Remembrancer, attended the levee at St James's, and preſented the following petition to his Majeſty.

To the KING's *Moſt Excellent Majeſty. The humble Petition of the Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London,*

Sheweth,

"THAT your petitioners, the magiſtrates for the city of London, have had an opportunity of obſerving, with the moſt heart-felt concern, the rapid and alarming increaſe of crimes and depredations in this city and its neighbourhood, eſpecially within the laſt three years.

The fact of ſuch increaſe is too publicly known, and too ſeverely felt by your Majeſty's ſubjects, to be doubted; and if any direct proof of it were wanting, it will moſt evidently appear from the number of days employed in the trial of felons at the Old Bailey, which, upon an average of the laſt three years, have been upwards of *fifty-five* in the year; whereas the higheſt average of any *three years* prior to the year 1776, was leſs than *forty-ſix*, and the general average of twenty years, prior to that period, leſs than *thirty-four* days in the year.

That the increaſe of the crime of burglary is become moſt alarming to your Majeſty's ſubjects, which increaſe your petitioners are inclined to aſcribe to the great number of experienced and well practiſed thieves now in the kingdom, who commit this atrocious crime with ſuch art that ſcarce any precautions are ſufficient to guard againſt it. And the ſame experience that enables theſe offenders to perpetrate this offence with eaſe, has probably convinced them that it is attended with leſs perſonal danger and hazard of detection than moſt other offences.

That in the years from January 1766 to December 1775, both inclusive, (which time immediately preceded the ſtop that was put to tranſportation) above *three thouſand one hundred* perſons were tranſported from London and Middleſex alone; and having reaſon to believe that all the reſt of the kingdom have furniſhed an equal number, the whole amount of the tranſports in theſe ten years have been above *ſix thouſand*. That the number of priſoners tried and convicted of felony in the ten ſucceeding years, from the beginning of 1776 to 1786, having greatly increaſed, there is every reaſon to believe, that, if the executive juſtice had remained the ſame, the tranſports in thoſe years would have much exceeded the number of the ten preceding; but the regular courſe of tranſportation having been interrupted during that period, and few opportunities found by government of ſending convicts abroad, and thoſe only in ſmall numbers, your petitioners humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty, that it neceſſarily follows, that after making an allowance for the ſmall number ſent abroad, and for the convicts who may have died during that period, there muſt now remain within the kingdom, either at large or in the different priſons, at leaſt *four thouſand* perſons, who, in the judgement of the law, were proper to have been ſent out of it.

That your petitioners humbly conceive that this dreadful accumulation is alone ſufficient to account for all the evils that are ſo heavily felt and ſo juſtly complained of, both as to the over-crowded ſtate of the gaols and the increaſe of crimes and of offenders.

To what extent the miſchiefs that are ſo ſeverely felt already, and the fatal conſequences ſo juſtly apprehended, may be carried by a longer continuance of ſo rapid and alarming an accumulation of convicts within the kingdom, no human wiſdom can foreſee.

When facts ſo important as theſe, and which ſo materially affect the peace and ſecurity of your Majeſty's ſubjects in general, and eſpecially of this great city, have come within the knowledge of your petitioners, they would ill diſcharge their duty to your Majeſty, or the public, if they neglected moſt humbly to lay them at the foot of the throne, earneſtly beſeeching your Majeſty to direct ſuch meaſures to be taken, as to your Royal wiſdom ſhall ſeem beſt, for providing a ſpeedy and due execution of the law, both as to capital puniſhment and tranſportation, without which all other regulations muſt prove nugatory and abortive, and the miſchiefs complained of muſt daily and rapidly increaſe."

IRELAND.

Liſt of the PENSIONS *granted or placed on the Civil Eſtabliſhment of Ireland, from Jan. 19. 1786, to the 18th of Feb. following, with the reſpective dates of the grants; preſented to the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, Feb. 1786.*

	L.	s.
Lord Viſc. Pery, by King's letter, dated Sept. 26. 1785,	3000	0
Eliſabeth Ogle, Aug. 16. 1785,	800	0
Jane Moore, do. -	200	0
Frances Benſon, 200 l. a-year diſcontinued, and the like granted to her, and Mary her daughter, and ſurvivor, dated Oct. 12. 1785, -	200	0
Mrs Eliz. Bourchier, dated Nov. 25. 1785, -	100	0
Mrs Martha Haughton, do.	200	0
Thomas, Earl of Weſtmeath, do. - -	800	0
Sir James May, Bart. do.	400	0
John Newman, Eſq; do.	113	13
Catharine Emerſon, 100 l. a-year diſcontinued, and 150 l. a-year granted to Alderman Tho. Emerſon, and Catharine his wife, and ſurvivor, do. -	150	0
Eliſabeth Pringle, 100 l. a-year diſcontinued, and re-granted to Anne and Margaret Pringle, and ſurvivor, do.	100	0
Jane Jephſon, 300 l. a-year diſcontinued, and 600 l. a-year granted to her, and Robert her huſband, and ſurvivor, do.	600	0
Sir Richard Johnſton, 400 l. a-year diſcontinued, and 800 l. a-year granted to him, do.	800	0
Thomas Coghlan, Eſq; addition, do. - -	350	0
Lord Kingſale, addition, do.	200	0
Thomas Trulock Bookey, dated Feb. 4. 1786, -	40	0
William Trulock Bookey, do.	40	0
James Carique Ponſonby, addition, dated Nov. 25. 1785,	200	0
Sir William Godfrey, Bart. do.	300	0
Annual amount,	L. 8593	13

JOCELYN, Auditor-General.

N. B. All the above are during pleaſure.

The

The amount of the Iriſh penſion-liſt is now 95,000 l. per annum.

On Tueſday, March 21. a meſſage was brought to the Houſe of Commons by Black Rod, from the Lord Lieutenant, ſummoning the Speaker and the Houſe to attend his Grace in the Houſe of Lords; which meſſage being complied with, the Speaker addreſſed the Lord Lieutenant in the following ſpeech:

" May it pleaſe your Grace,

The expences of this kingdom had for a ſeries of years, as well in time of peace as war, conſtantly exceeded its revenue, and debt increaſed on debt.

Where ſuch a ſyſtem is ſuffered to prevail, manufactures muſt at length give way, trade will decline, and agriculture ceaſe to produce wealth or plenty: the Commons therefore, in the laſt ſeſſion, wiſely determined to put a ſtop to ſo ruinous a ſyſtem, and with a ſpirited attention to the true intereſt of the country, and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government, they voted new taxes to increaſe the revenue of the year, in the ſum of 140,000 l.

The effort was great, and the event has proved its wiſdom. No farther addition is now wanting; no loan or act of credit is neceſſary; a ſituation unknown to this kingdom for many ſeſſions paſt, and marking with peculiar force the happy æra of your Grace's adminiſtration.

Animated by this ſucceſs, and determined to perſevere in the principle of preventing the accumulation of debt, his Majeſty's faithful Commons have in this ſeſſion continued the ſame taxes, and granted all the ſupplies that were deſired, to the full amount of every eſtimated expence; nor have they omitted at the ſame time to provide for the ſpeedy reduction of the national debt by a conſiderable ſinking fund, and to continue to the agriculture, the fiſheries, and the riſing manufactures of the kingdom, the bounties neceſſary for their ſupport.

Great as theſe taxes are, they are liberally and cheerfully given, in the moſt firm and full confidence, that, from your Grace's experienced wiſdom, and affection for this kingdom, they will be found effectually to anſwer the end propoſed, of ſupplying the whole of the public expence, and preventing any farther accumulation of the national debt."

The Royal aſſent being given to the ſeveral bills which were ready, and the Houſe returned,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, That the thanks of the Houſe be given to the Rt Hon. the Speaker, for his excellent ſpeech delivered that day at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, on preſenting the money bills for the Royal aſſent, and that the ſame be printed.

He was ſeconded by the Rt Hon. Mr David Latouche, and the motion was unanimouſly agreed to.

The following are the bills to which the Lord Lieutenant gave the Royal aſſent, viz. the ſtamp-duty bill; the coffee-bill; the ſugar-bill; the carriage-duty bill; the licence-bill for grocers, &c. the hawkers and pedlars bill; the bill for the advancement of trade; the linen-manufacture bill; the bill for widening and repairing roads in the county of Dublin; the bill for making notes, &c. more obligatory; the tobacco-bill; the malt-bill; and two other bills.

The bill for encouraging the fiſheries on the ſea-coaſts of the kingdom was read a third time, paſſed, and ordered to the Lords.

Account of the general ſtate of the Fiſhery this ſeaſon on the North-Weſt Coaſt of Ireland.

" The number of ſhips on the fiſhery amounted to near 500 ſail, and their tonnage, at the leaſt computation, 20,000 tons, all of which procured good cargoes of good, ſound, and well-cured herrings, confeſſedly ſuperior in quality and ſize to any ever imported into Ireland. Two thouſand boats were alſo employed in the fiſhery, having on board upwards of 10,000 fiſhermen.

Of theſe fiſh 150,000 barrels were ſhipped to foreign markets, excluſive of the immenſe quantity carried up into the country for ſale."

General State of the REVENUE.

Hereditary revenue,	L. 656,826
Additional duties, -	382,352
Stamp-duties, -	34,580
New taxes granted as an equivalent for the exploded commercial adjuſtment, 140,000l. which will amount to at leaſt	300,000
	L. 1,376,758

Paid to penſioners, abſentees, &c.

Penſion liſt, civil eſtabliſhment,	L. 88,190
Ditto military eſtabliſhment,	6,051
	L. 9[illegible]

M[illegible]

Money annually drained from the nation, by abſentees, L. 1,208,480
By perſons reſident in England, and poſſeſſing places in Ireland, - - 750,760

SCOTLAND.

On February 25. the Court of Seſſion gave judgement in a queſtion of much importance to a commercial country, viz. —William Fraſer, glover and ſkin-merchant in Inverneſs, who dealt in various branches of trade to a large extent, brought an action of *Ceſſio bonorum* againſt his creditors, ſeveral of whom are merchants in London, Glaſgow, Aberdeen, Inverneſs, and other trading places, and who oppoſed the *Ceſſio*, chiefly upon the ground of the want of ſuch account-books as could give ſatisfaction of loſſes, or ſhow the ſtate of the bankrupt's affairs. Upon adviſing the cauſe, in which a proof by witneſſes had been adduced with regard to the priſoner's alledged loſſes, and fully hearing counſel for both parties, the Lords, on the 23d of December laſt, found him not intitled to the benefit of the action.

The queſtion came again before the Court, Feb. 25. upon a reclaiming petition and anſwers, when the Lords adhered to the judgement formerly pronounced.

The want of books, at leaſt of ſuch as might ſhow the ſtate of a bankrupt's proceedings, and the money which he received and paid out, the Court conſidered as capital bars to thoſe who apply for the benefit of the *Ceſſio bonorum*, which the humanity of the law intended only for relief to honeſt and unfortunate debtors.

On Saturday, March 11. a reſpite, during his Majeſty's pleaſure, arrived at Edinburgh, in favour of William Haugh, the younger of the two brothers condemned by the Court of Juſticiary. [p. 97.] His brother John Haugh was executed on the 22d, agreeable to his ſentence.

March 13. the Court of Juſticiary proceeded to the trial of Walter Roſs upon a new indictment, ſee p. 97. The indictment was found relevant to infer the pains of law. After ſeveral witneſſes were examined, Mr Solicitor General propoſed to adduce one of the name of Boyd, againſt whom the counſel for the pannel objected, as being *infamous*, and exhibited, in proof of this, an extract of a petition, in name of Boyd and others, to the ſheriff of the county of Edinburgh, acknowledging their having been guilty of ſeveral petty thefts, and praying for baniſhment, which the ſheriff granted. The Court, after hearing the Solicitor-General, were unanimouſly pleaſed to ſuſtain the objection; the petition praying for baniſhment having admitted the charge for which Boyd was committed to priſon, and not running in the uſual ſtyle of ſuch petitions, which in general ſtates, that the petitioner is innocent, but that being once accuſed of ſuch and ſuch crimes, he could not think of remaining in a place where he could no longer be uſeful. The counſel for the pannel, in the courſe of the trial, moved an objection to another witneſs, of the name of Gill, an accomplice of Roſs; but was unable to ſubſtantiate any charge of infamy againſt him, farther than his having been tried before an aſſize in England, for ſimilar crimes with which the pannel is indicted. It appearing, however, that Gill had been acquitted upon that occaſion, the Court repelled the objection, and allowed the witneſs to be examined, leaving it to the jury to give what weight they might think proper to the credibility of his evidence, as being a *ſocius criminis*, according as it may be ſupported by other unqueſtionable witneſſes. The jury gave in their verdict next day, unanimouſly finding the pannel guilty of all the charges in the indictment, except that of picking a gentleman's pocket on the Caſtlehill, Edinburgh. The Court ordained him to be hanged at the ordinary place of execution at Edinburgh, on Wedneſday, April 19.

On Sunday morning, March 19. all the felons confined in the tolbooth of Edinburgh nearly effected their eſcape. The particulars of this dangerous attempt are as follows: There were in the room where the Cage ſtands, on Saturday night, William Thorburn, a fellow of the name of Flanaghan, and another perſon, all notorious offenders. Walter Roſs, now under ſentence of death, was confined in the ſame apartment previous to his trial, and was only removed from it to another upon ſentence being pronounced againſt him. The Cage-room is immediately above an apartment, where the keys of all the felons rooms, as well as the inſtruments for ſcrewing off and on the irons of the priſoners, are kept. Into this room the three fellows above mentioned

mentioned had made their way, by means of cutting a hole in the floor of their own apartment; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of the keys, &c. they ſet all the other priſoners confined for crimes, together with thoſe under ſentence of death, ſo far at liberty, as to be able to walk at large in the common Hall of the priſon, and be ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of getting poſſeſſion of the key of that door alſo, upon the inner turnkey's coming in the morning to execute the duties of his office, it not being the practice for him to ſleep in the priſon all night. In the morning, accordingly, between eight and nine o'clock, when the turnkey, accompanied by a porter employed to clean out the different apartments, entered the priſon, to their great ſurpriſe, they found themſelves immediately laid hold of by people whom they expected to ſee in very different ſituations. The turnkey, however, with great preſence of mind, upon the firſt aſſault, luckily got the key of the hall-door conveyed into his breeches, without the villains perceiving it; and, notwithſtanding the moſt horrid threats, and the cruelſt uſage, he got it concealed there, in ſpite of all the ſearch they could make for it. The poor man, at laſt, in imminent danger of his life, thought of a device to preſerve it, and obtain liberty from his mercileſs aſſailants. He informed them, that if they would allow him to riſe, he being then upon the floor, with three or four above him, trampling upon his body with their knees and feet, he would deliver them up the key. To this they agreed. The turnkey then requeſted, that, as he was ready to faint, from the bruiſes and other cruel uſage he had received, he might be ſuffered to go to the priſon cellar to get a glaſs of ſomething to revive his ſpirits. This was likewiſe agreed to; and two of the fellows, in order that he might not deceive them, went along with him. Juſt as they were entering the door of the cellar, however, the turnkey, ſummoning up all the ſtrength of which he was maſter, made a ſudden ſpring from them, and had the good fortune to get into one of the debtor's rooms, which he immediately bolted on the inſide, before his purſuers could reach it. The alarm was then given from the windows of the priſon for the aſſiſtance of the city-guard to quell the mutiny. They accordingly attended. The lock of the door leading to the common hall was obliged to be taken off, the key of that door being ſtill in the poſſeſſion of the inner turnkey, who, even though he had not been juſtly afraid again to encounter ſuch powerful adverſaries, was by this time actually ſo bad, as to be unable to move from the place where he had taken refuge. What muſt appear equally extraordinary with any part of this narrative, is, that when the guard entered the hall, there was no perſon whatever to give them the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. All the priſoners, from the bravery and good conduct of the inner turnkey, finding their plan of eſcape entirely fruſtrated, had betaken themſelves to their former places of confinement; and ſome of them had even the audacity to pretend a total ignorance of the whole tranſaction. The number of theſe deſperadoes, who had been liberated from their reſpective places of confinement, and were collected together in the Hall, amounted to eleven. From a precognition taken by the magiſtrates it appeared, that William Haugh, who lately received a reſpite during his Majeſty's pleaſure, was the moſt active in maltreating the turnkey, and propoſed to hang him if he perſiſted in his refuſal to deliver up the key. John Haugh, the other brother, alſo maltreated him, as well as Roſs; and upon the porter's calling out at the window for aſſiſtance, Thorburn, and ſome of the other priſoners, fell upon him, and beat him in a moſt cruel manner.

The multiplicity of vagabond beggars of all ſizes and deſcriptions with which Edinburgh and its environs have been long infeſted, has called forth univerſal complaints from the inhabitants. A ſcheme for remedying this grievance has at laſt been hit upon, the ſheriff of the county, and the magiſtrates of the city, having agreed to go hand in hand in removing ſo diſgraceful a nuiſance. The buſineſs was commenced on Friday, March 24. by the officers belonging to both, apprehending a number of beggars, who were carried to the council chamber, where the ſheriff attended, along with the magiſtrates. After examining into their ſeveral caſes, it was found, that only one, out of about thirty, had any legal right to the charity of either city or county, and that one was the wife of a ſtout young fellow, who pretends to be a lame ſailor. The ſheriff, therefore, in a very ſpirited and

ſuitable ſpeech, informed them, that as they had no right whatever to become a burden upon this city and county, who found it difficult to maintain their own poor, they muſt immediately betake themſelves to the places where they were born, or where they had made ſuch a reſidence as intitled them to the funds which every pariſh in Scotland was obliged by law to raiſe for the ſupport of their reſpective poor. He ſaid, that they would immediately receive a ſhilling each, and be allowed till Monday morning, at ten o'clock, to leave the place; but if any of them, after that period, ſhould be found either in the city or county, (and the proper officers belonging to both had ſtrict orders to watch their motions), they were immediately to be apprehended, committed to priſon, and the next Wedneſday thereafter publicly whipt through the ſtreets of the city. This diſcipline to be repeated every time they preſumed to return. The ſheriff particularly recommended to them to conſider this as a very ſerious advice, and not as mere words of courſe: for that both the magiſtrates and himſelf were fully determined to carry the matter into full effect. This moteley group of the moſt ragamuffin, diſorderly ſet that perhaps ever were collected together in one place, were then diſmiſſed, after receiving a ſhilling a-piece.

MARRIAGES.

March 3. At Paris, Sir William Dick of Preſtonfield, Bt, to Miſs Joanna Douglas of Garwalfoot.

3. At Edinburgh, Daniel Macgregor, Eſq; of Inveraidenan, Captain in the Eaſt-India Company's ſervice, to Miſs Ann Auſtin, eldeſt daughter of the late Dr Adam Auſtin, phyſician.

6. The Rev. Mr William Taylor, miniſter of St Enoch's church, Glaſgow, to Miſs Chriſtian Allan, daughter of Richard Allan of Bardowie, Eſq;

8. At Edinburgh, the Earl of Hadinton, to Miſs Gaſcoigne.

16. At Feſfield, near Cupar in Fife, Henry Stark, Eſq; from India, to Miſs Kaity Monſon, daughter of James Monſon, Eſq; of Naughton.

At Leith, Mr James Macintyre, merchant, to Miſs Johnſton of Greenend.

27. At Edinburgh, Major Archibald Campbell of Aſkomill, to Miſs Eliſabeth Campbell, daughter of the Rev. Mr David Campbell, miniſter of Southend.

27. At Edinburgh, Capt. Biſhop, of the 74th regiment, to Miſs Ann Chriſtie.

BIRTHS.

Peterſburg, Feb. 20. On the 15th, the Great Ducheſs, of a Princeſs. *Lond. Gaz.*

Feb. 28. At Hatton, Lady Hannah Hay, of a daughter.

28. Mrs Brown of Coalſton, of a daughter.

March 5. Mrs Leith of Leith-hall, of a daughter.

6. At Merchieſton, the Lady of the Hon. Capt. Charles Napier, of a ſon.

8. At Orchil, Mrs Graham of Orchil, of a daughter.

9. At Balcarras, the Counteſs of Balcarras, of two ſons.

15. Mrs Hay of Belton, of a ſon.

22. At Inchdarney, Mrs Sinclair-Aytoun, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Jan. 17. 1786. Upon the coaſt of Africa, Edward Thomſon, Eſq; commander of the Grampus, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſquadron on the coaſt of Africa.

In India, Mr John Maxwell Stone, chief of Ganjam.

Feb. At his villa of Piquini, near Amiens, on the banks of the Somme, M. de Phelipeaux, one of the firſt opticians in Europe, and who had brought the helioſcope to moſt perfection for viewing the phenomena of the ſun, as his ſpots, eclipſes, &c.

24. At Hoſpital-field, near Arbroath, Miſs Ann Fraſer, only daughter of David Fraſer, Eſq; of Kirkton.

24. At Brodie houſe, the Rt Hon. Lady Margaret Brodie.

25. At Edinburgh, Mr William Nimmo of Belvormie, aged 89 years.

25. At London Mrs Wright, of Charing-croſs, the celebrated modeller in wax. This lady was one of the moſt extraordinary characters of the age, as an artiſt, and a politician: in an early period of life ſhe gave ſtrong indications of a ſingular talent for taking likeneſſes in wax, and did not fail to take heads of ſome of the leading Americans, at the commencement of the conteſt, in which her family became much injured. At rather an advanced age ſhe found herſelf greatly diſtreſſed by the ravages of the civil broils, and both diſtreſſed and enraged, quitted her native country with a determination of ſerving it in Britain. She added to the moſt famous Americans the heads of the Engliſh moſt diſtinguiſhed at that time for oppoſition to Lord North's meaſures; and as her reputation drew a very great variety of people of all ranks to ſee the marvellous productions of her ingenuity, ſhe ſoon found out the avenues to get information of almoſt every deſign which was agitated or intended to be executed in America, and was the object of the moſt entire confidence of Doctor Franklin and others, with whom ſhe correſponded, and gave information during the whole war. As ſoon as a General was appointed to go out to mount the

the tragic-comic ſtage in America, from the commander in chief to the brigadier, ſhe inſtantly found ſome acceſs to a part of the family, and diſcovered the number of troops to be employed, and the ends of their deſtination. The late Lord Chatham paid her ſeveral viſits, and was pleaſed with the ſimplicity of her manners, and underſtanding. She took his likeneſs, which appears in the Abbey of Weſtminſter. Though ſhe had been in France, and much careſſed by the politicians of that kingdom; yet at the end of the war ſhe was ſo ſingularly attached to England, that ſhe was conſtantly employed to enforce forgiveneſs among her country people, whom ſhe adviſed for the future to look to England in preference to France for trade and alliance.

26. At Preſton, in Lancaſhire, in the 31ſt year of her age, Mrs Lockhart, late ſpouſe of Gen. Lockhart of Carnwath.

27. At Kingſbarns, in Fife, the Rev. Mr William Vilant.

March. At Cheltenham, in the 100th year of his age, George Foſter Duval, Eſq; formerly a medical practitioner at Bath.

At Highworſal, Yorkſhire, Mr Marmaduke Angell, aged 101.

1. At London, Mrs Boughton, one of the Queen's bedchamber women.

2. At Jedburgh, Miſs Barbara Douglas, daughter of the deceaſed Mr Thomas Douglas.

2. At Glaſgow, the Rev. Mr John Ramſay, miniſter of the Relief congregation at Hamilton.

2. At London, in the 51ſt year of his age, the Rev. Dr John Jebb.

3. At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Grieve, ſpouſe to John Balfour jun. merchant.

3. At Dundee, Mr John Guthrie, merchant.

3. At Durham, Mrs Farquharſon, wife of Francis Farquharſon, Eſq; of Monaltrie.

3. At London, Owen Ridley, Eſq; late a Colonel in the Eaſt India ſervice.

4. At her houſe in Gifford's Park, Mrs Charlotte Bruce, ſiſter of Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouſe, Bt.

6. At Leith, in an advanced age, Mr Robert Strong ſenior, merchant.

7. At Liſbon, Mr Livingſton Campbell, ſon of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlaſs, Bt.

7. At his houſe of Dudwick, in the 77th year of his age, Robert Fullerton of Dudwick, Lieutenant-General in the Ruſſian ſervice, and Knight of the order of St Catharine.

7. At his ſeat in Chevening, near Seven Oaks, in Kent, the Rt Hon. Philip Earl Stanhope. He has left an only ſon, Lord Viſcount Mahon.

7. At her houſe on Richmond Green, the Lady Viſcounteſs Fitzwilliam, widow of Lord Viſcount Fitzwilliam.

8. In the 73d year of his age, and 46th of his miniſtry, the Rev. Mr John Warner, miniſter of Kilbarchan.

8. In an advanced age, John Bradby, of Bramble, near Southampton, who had accumulated by the farming buſineſs a fortune of near 30,000l.

9. At Edinburgh, in the 87th year of his age, the Rev. Mr Du Pont, miniſter of the French church in that city, of which his father and he have been miniſters for four years more than a century.

10. At Bannockburn houſe, David Paterſon, Eſq; of Bannockburn.

10. At Pontefract, on his way to the ſouth of France for the recovery of his health, William Durham, Eſq; Advocate.

11. At Haddington, Mr Patrick Maclaren merchant, and late provoſt of that burgh.

12. Near Windſor, Mrs Alice Yarborough, in the 98th year of her age. She was one of the annual penſioners on the Queen's liſt, and always remembered in the Royal bounties.

12. At Drum, Mrs Irvine of Drum.

12. At London, William Style, Eſq; Colonel of the 3d regiment of foot, and Lieutenant-General in his Majeſty's ſervice.

13. At Edinburgh, Mrs Græme of Gorthie.

13. At Edinburgh, Mr John Walker, merchant, and late one of the magiſtrates of that city.

13. At Edinburgh, Lt-Col. James Flint, of the 25th regiment.

13. At Mauchline, William Campbell, Eſq; of Netherplace.

14. At St James's, Mrs Bludworth, one of the Queen's bedchamber women.

15. At Bath, the Counteſs-Dowager of Galloway.

15. At Arbuthnot houſe, the Viſcounteſs of Arbuthnot.

15. At Cariſton, Mrs Mary Forbes, widow of the late George Skene of Skene.

16. At Leith, in an advanced age, Mr William Edmonſton, ſurgeon.

17. At Shannoburn, Mrs Jane Oſborne, daughter of the late Principal Oſborne, and wife of Provoſt William Mowat, of Aberdeen.

19. At Leith, Mrs Eleanora Gifford, ſpouſe to Mr James Whyte, merchant.

20. At Edinburgh, Mr Alexander Boog, merchant.

22. At Edinburgh, Mrs Baillie of Carnbroe.

22. At Muſſelburgh, in the 42d year of his age, the Rev. Mr James Scot, miniſter of the goſpel there.

23. At Edinburgh, Lt-Col. Gavin Cochran, of the 58th regiment of foot. He was interred, in the Abbey church, with military honours.

23. The Rev. Mr Thomas Turnbull, miniſter of Borthwick.

28. At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Duff, widow of Gen. James Abercromby of Glaſſough.

30. At Edinburgh, Miſs Jean Craigie, daughter of John Craigie, Eſq; of Kilgraſton.

30. In the 96th year of her age, Mrs Helen Cowan, relict of Mr Robert Dallas.

31. At London, Marmaduke Browning, Eſq; aged 93. He had been in the army upwards of fifty years, and ſerved under the Duke of Cumberland at the battle of Culloden.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

Lord Chamberlain's office, Feb 25. On the 15th inſt. Francis Knight, Eſq; was appointed to be one of the ſurgeons in Extraordinary to his Majeſty's houſehold.

The King has been pleaſed,

Feb. 28 to grant the dignity of a Marquis of the kingdom of G. Britain to the Rt Hon. Granville Leveſon Earl Gower, K. G. and the heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten, by the name, ſtyle, and title of Marquis of the county of Stafford.

March 3. to inveſt the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon with the enſigns of the moſt ancient and moſt noble order of the Thiſtle.

4. to approve of Johnſon Newman, Eſq; to be Conſul for the Empreſs of Ruſſia at the town of Hull.

7. to appoint Mr John Pringle to be Commiſſary Clerk of the Commiſſariot of Edinburgh.

25. to conſtitute and appoint John Elliot, Eſq; to be Governor and Commander in chief of the iſland of Newfoundland, and of the iſlands of Madelaine in the Gulph of St Lawrence.

Lord Chamberlain's office, March 21. On Saturday, the 19th inſt. John Charles Crowle, Eſq; was appointed Maſter of the Revels in ordinary to his Majeſty, in the room of Solomon Dayrolle, Eſq; deceaſed.

Queen's Palace, March 5. The Queen has been pleaſed, to appoint Mrs Georgina Herbert to be one of her Majeſty's Bed chamber women, in the room of Mrs Boughton, deceaſed; and,

25. to appoint the Hon. Ariana Margaret Egerton, to be one of her Majeſty's Bedchamber women, in the room of Mrs Bludworth, deceaſed.

War-office, March 25.

Charles Hope, Gent. to be Deputy Judge-Advocate and Clerk of the Courts Martial in North Britain, vice Mark Pringle.

From other papers.

Feb. 24. The Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company unanimouſly appointed the Rt Hon. Earl Cornwallis to be Governor-General of Bengal.

Lord Hood is appointed Port Admiral at Portſmouth.

Feb. 25. This day a writ of ſummons was iſſued for calling up his Royal Highneſs Prince Frederick, Biſhop of Oſnabruck, to the Houſe of Peers, by the title of Duke of York, which was ſent to his Royal Highneſs at Hanover.

Mr William Nairne of Duſinnan, Advocate, is appointed one of the Ordinary Lords of Seſſion in the room of Lord Kennet. He took his ſeat on March 9. by the title of Lord Dunſinnan.

David Smyth, Eſq; of Methven is appointed Sheriff-depute of Perthſhire, in the room of Mr Nairne.

J. Shaw Stenart, Eſq; has preſented Mr Allan M'Auly, preacher of the goſpel, to the church of Greenock, vacant by the death of the Rev. Mr David Turner.

On Thurſday March 23. the Rev. Mr William Paul, miniſter of Newbattle, was admitted one of the miniſters of St Cuthbert's, in the room of the Rev. Mr Gibſon, deceaſed.

Mar. 23. Commodore Keith Stewart kiſſed their Majeſties hands on being appointed Collector of the land-tax for Scotland.

Prices of Grain at Haddington, April 7.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	19s. 6d.	18s. 6d.	18s. 0d.
Bear,	15s. 0d.	14s 0d.	13s. 0d.
Oats,	13s. 0d.	12s. 0d.	10s. 6d.
Peaſe,	15s. 0d.	13s. 0d.	11s. 0d.

Edinburgh, April 11. 1786. Oat-meal, 11d. Bear-meal, 8d. Peaſe meal, 7d. 2 f.

Burials in the Grayfriars church-yard in March.

Males 37 } 80. Increaſed 13.
Females 43 }

Age.	No	Diſeaſes, &c.	No
Under 2	18	Aged — —	12
Between 2 & 5	12	Aſthmah — —	3
5 & 10	9	Bowelhive — —	2
10 & 20	6	Chincough —	10
20 & 30	7	Childbed — —	4
30 & 40	6	Conſumption —	9
40 & 50	5	Fever —	18
50 & 60	8	Hanged — —	1
60 & 70	5	Meaſles — —	2
70 & 80	3	Suddenly — —	2
80 & 90	0	Smallpox — —	6
90 & 100	1	Teething —	11

PRICES OF STOCKS, March 16.

3 per cent. conſ. 69⅜ a ⅝ a ¾
Bank Long Ann. 20⅝ a 11-16ths
Short Do. 1778, 1779, 13¼ a ⅜
5 per cent. 104⅝ a ¾
South Sea Old Ann. 68⅜ a ½
New Navy, 2¼ Diſc.

March 30.

3 per cent. conſ. 69¼ a ⅜ a ½
Bank Long Ann. 20 11-16ths a ¾
Short Do. 1778, 1779, 13 5-16ths a ⅜
5 per cent. 104½ a ⅞ a ⅝
India Bonds, 46s. a 47s. Prem.